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East Europe Report

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/9987

CEMA TO DISCUSS NUCLEAR POWER COOPERATION

LD242241 Warsaw PAP in English 2115 GMT 24 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24--The 15th meeting of the Inter-government Committee of CEMA States for the Production and Supply for Nuclear Power Plants will be held here on November 25 and 26.

The committee was founded to coordinate the implementation of the 1979 agreement on multilateral international specialization and cooperation in the production and mutual deliveries of equipment for nuclear power plants in the years 1981-1990.

The agreement was signed by the following states: Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Delegations of all states signatories to the document that arrived in Warsaw are headed by deputy prime ministers. Also Cuba sent its delegation as that country intends to join the agreement.

The agreement is among the largest documents signed by CEMA states. The value of equipment delivered each year, provided by the document, amounts to about 500 million roubles, including Poland's exports worth about 30 to 40 million roubles.

Among the most important issues to be discussed during the committee's 15th meeting is the course of implementation of this year's deliveries of equipment to power plants and the state of contracts of deliveries in the forthcoming year. The meeting will also review a document which provides for the prolongation of the agreement for the years 1991-2000 and a long-term programme of additional works in the field of further improvement of security in nuclear power plants.

/8309

CSO: 2020/27

EXCUSE-MAKING IN INDUSTRY LAMPOONED

TRIBUNA Cartoon

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 45, 12 Nov 86 p 3

[Cartoon]

Our enterprise is almost top-notch in exculpatory techniques but in unattributable difficulties we are state-of-the-art...



Kresba M. LIPOVSKÝ

HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 7 Nov

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Nov 86 p 16

[Cartoon]

When I don't feel like working, that's manifestly
an unattributable problem!...



PETR PAZDERKA

HOSPODARSKE NOVINY, 21 Nov

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Nov 86 p 16

[Cartoon]

The best way to achieve real savings on materials
and wages might be to stop making it!...



PETR PAZDERKA

/6091

CSO: 2400/69

'SMALL BANKS' SYSTEM IN HUNGARY DISCUSSED

Prague MODERNI RIZENI in Czech No 10, 1986 p 25

[Text] In addition to the Hungarian National Bank, there are currently nine small banks. Their role is to be a source of additional financing. With their total assets of about 7 billion forints, they do not play a significant role in terms of state finances. The Hungarian National Bank is regulating their activity through a set of management tools. For example, it establishes their mandatory reserves and the range of interest they may charge; currently that is no more than 1.5 percent over the rate charged by the Central Bank.

Previously, enterprises requiring financing which exceeded the planned levels were frequently turned down. Now, in such cases, they can turn to one of the small banks. Furthermore, since 1985 they may grant themselves a trade credit payable within 1 year. Another innovation is that credits are no longer simply allocated among the enterprises but are granted on strictly business basis. In 1980 the Hungarian National Bank also opened a so-called innovation fund which serves to provide credit for accelerated implementation of inventions and new technologies in production. Similar funds were also established by some of the ministries and by the State Development Bank.

An independent Budapest credit bank with assets of 300 million forints was spun off from the Hungarian National Bank in 1985. It is a first actual trade bank which, in addition to services performed by the small banks, also maintains accounts for small enterprises and cooperatives in the capital.

The activity of the small banks is regulated similarly to the activities of small enterprises--according to profitability. To a substantial degree, the employee wages depend on the achieved profits. The purpose of the small banks is to provide effective and flexible credits for investments and trade promising profits. Their activity enables the Hungarian National Bank to avoid dealing with small short-term credits. (Wochenbulletin MTI, 8 Nov 85)--CTK

/6091

CSO: 2400/71

WORKERS COUNCILS POWER SEEN WEAKENED BY REFORM LAW CHANGES

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 43, 26 Oct 86 pp 1,4

[Article by Marek Dabrowski: "Is This Retreat?" surtitled "An Attempt to Stop the Reform"]

[Text] Several weeks ago we celebrated the fifth anniversary of the passage by the Sejm of decrees on state enterprises and workforce self-government at state enterprises. On that occasion, a majority of self-government activists, academics, and journalists stressed in accord at various meetings the longrange significance of both these decrees as a foundation for the economic reform. In the years elapsed since then, difficult as they undoubtedly have been to the reform and to self-government, these September decrees have repeatedly passed their test as a sufficiently effective barrier to growing leanings toward recentralization.

In the course of the anniversary assessments and discussions, few of the participants were aware that supporters of the antiself-government and recentralization option are secretly -- without informing public opinion -- preparing a legislative coup against the legal foundations of the economic reform. Thus, in the last days of September and first days of October the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers drafted a decree for revising certain decrees governing the operation of the socialized economy. That draft was accepted by First Deputy Chairman Franciszek Kubiczek, and it has not been presented for any public consultation, and neither has it been submitted for an opinion to Taskforce Ten on Worker Self-Government and Legal Foundations of the Economy, Commission for the Economic Reform. In other words, this is a case of utter disregard of the principle, advocated in the last few years, of "open curtain" work of the government and the administration.

Yet, the new draft decree purports to revise as many as 13 decrees: the decree on State Economic Arbitration, the decree on state enterprises, the decree on socioeconomic planning, the decree on financial management at state enterprises, the decree on prices, the decree on the taxation of units of the socialized economy, cooperative law, the decree on streamlining the performance of state enterprises and on their bankruptcies, the decree on site planning, the decree on the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers, budget law, the decree on central science and technology development funds, and the decree on changes in the organization and scope of

activities of supreme agencies of state administration as regards the planning and siting of construction.

Of course, not all of the proposed changes are of equal importance. Some are purely technical and in principle unexceptionable. But quite a few entail major institutional transformations, mostly those of a definitely disadvantageous nature to the autonomy of enterprises and people's councils and to the competences of workforce self-government. Owing to considerations of space I will discuss that draft decree only insofar as it affects state enterprises.

Most disturbing are the proposals to curtail the competences of worker self-government with respect to organizational and personnel decisions.

As regards organizational decisions, the revisions are to pertain to Article 23, which deals with the principles for the breakups, mergers, and closure of enterprises. Until now, pursuant to Paragraph 1 of Article 23, prior consent of worker councils has been required mergers and breakups. In practice, this provision proved to be a most effective obstacle to various mergers, conceived at the top, that would have resulted in subsector monopolies. Consider for example the fiasco of the notorious concept of the "dymerektwa," or iron and steel combines, owing to the withholding of consent by worker councils at discrete iron and steel plants. In this way, in recent years it has been possible to curtail at least partially those arbitrarist reorganizational concepts that have been the plague of the Polish economy ever since the late 1940's. Let us note in this connection that the provision in question did not at all impede mergers of enterprises in situations justified by the cost-effectiveness factor. In practice there has been, e.g., a number of instances of the incorporation of poorly performing enterprises by enterprises that operate in the black, followed by restructuring the production profile of the poor performers.

But now amending Article 23 with a new paragraph, Paragraph 4, is being proposed. This paragraph empowers the Council of Ministers to order the merger or breakup of an enterprise without the consent of the worker council, "in particularly justified cases." The justification provided by the authors of this new provision is particularly disturbing: they refer to the creation of conditions... for inducing an improved performance on the scale of enterprises, to macro-scale accounting, and to conflict between social interests and the interests of the enterprise. It would be a waste of time to rebut these pseudoarguments. For in reality this concerns eliminating a legal obstacle preventing the ministerial bureaucracy from calling into life yet more and more mine associations, enterprise associations, combines, concerns, and similar monopoly Molochs.

As regards personnel decisions, the new draft decree proposes a radical reduction in the powers of the worker council with respect to the appointment and recall of the enterprise director. Under the new proposals, the right to appoint the director would belong to the parent agency, upon the consent of the worker council. To be sure, the order this division of powers would still be reversed at some enterprises whose founding charter so provides: the director is to be appointed by the worker council upon the consent of the

parent agency, but it is doubtful whether the number of such enterprises is large. And even so it would still be the parent agency that determines the director's emoluments.

The director is to be recalled by the parent agency "upon consulting the worker council" (Article 35, b, Article 1). The Council of Ministers is to issue an implementing ordinance specifying the principles for the remuneration of enterprise directors (Article 35, a, Paragraph 4). The newly proposed Article 52, Paragraph 2, spells out a notorious procedure for evaluating the director and the enterprise. All this is unambiguously intended to subordinate the director to the parent agency. This onesided relationship is not offset by the proposal that the reasons for the recall of a director be specified in writing (Article 35, b, Paragraph 1), and that he be entitled to severance pay if recalled (the equivalent of 3- or 6-month salary, depending on whether the recall is made for a justified reason or not).

Also proposed is an expansion of the membership of the director search committee. This change would produce a twofold effect: first, it would weaken the position of the representatives of the worker council and, second, it would enhance the importance of the outside members of the committee. In addition, the proposal contains a provision for noncompetitive appointment of the enterprise director "in the event that the twice-announced competition fails to produce a suitable candidate" (Article 35, Paragraph 5). However, the concept of the "suitable candidate" is nebulous.

The authors of this draft decree also desire to deprive worker councils of the right to codecide on the staffing of the posts of deputy director and chief bookkeeper. The requirement of the consent of the worker council on such matters is to be substituted with mere recommendation of the council (Article 36). And lastly yet another change in this domain is to be as follows: opposition of the worker council or the director to the decision of the parent agency to suspend the director from his duties will no longer prevent the implementation of that decision (Article 57, Paragraph 2).

In addition to the abovementioned proposals, the new draft decree touches upon several other problems: the conversion of state enterprises to joint-stock companies (new text of Article 11), the elimination of the category of the joint enterprise (the original text of Article 11), the formation of joint-stock companies by the state enterprise and its right to join in an already existing joint-stock company (Article 16, a), the obligation of systematic training for enterprise directors (Article 33, Paragraph 3), a more precise definition of the duties of the enterprise director (Article 35, a), the status of the acting manager of the enterprise (Article 56, Paragraph 4), the ability of other organizations of the socialized economy to join an association of state enterprises (Article 59, Paragraph 2), and the abolition of the obligation to obtain the consent of the parent agency before an enterprise can join an association (Article 60, Paragraph 1).

But let us return to the proposed reduction of the competences of worker councils. In their justification, the authors refer to the "preservation of the current competences of self-government," probably implying that the decree on workforce self-government at state enterprises would not be revised. And

yet, the competences of self-government bodies are governed not only by the self-government decree, as evidenced by the instances cited above. What then are the authors of the draft decree counting upon?

In several places appears the famous argument that the position of the enterprise director should be strengthened, but it is no longer as much emphasized as it had been in the proposals of last May. On the other hand, there are many empty slogans about the second stage of the reform, about streamlining effectiveness, about economic instruments, about the need for structural changes in the economy, and so on. Altogether, it can be viewed as nothing other than a mockery of public opinion and of political declarations made at the highest level. In order not to sound rhetorical, let me cite here passages from the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress (TRYBUNA LUDU, No 163, 14 Jul 86). Chapter 3 of that Resolution, titled "Tasks in Developing Societal Life," Paragraph 2, states: "...The party expresses its resolute support of enhancing the participation of workforces in enterprise management...." And farther on, "...The party shall resolutely counteract any attempt to infringe upon the powers of self-government, and it shall strengthen its prestige and importance." And finally, there is the Congress declaration: "...As constituted at present, the form of self-government developed upon the party's inspiration and enjoying the support of the workforces has passed the test of practice." Chapter 4 of the Resolution (Paragraph 7) contains the recommendations that changes of the legal system be limited "to the indispensable minimum."

A similar spirit pervades the communique on the session of 23 September 1986 of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee (as published in TRYBUNA LUDU, No 224, 25 September 1986). It explicitly mentions worker self-government as a vital feature of the socialist enterprise, as well as the need to "preserve its current legal position."

Lastly, let us quote a passage from the Resolution of 29 September 1986 of the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Sejm concerning the government report on the course and results of the application of the economic reform in the years 1981-1985:

"The accomplishments so far of self-government bodies warrant sufficiently the belief that the intensification of measures to streamline the economic reform should be coupled with strengthening the position and protecting the rights of worker self-government."

The draft decree discussed above evidently ignores these resolutions.

1386
CSO:2600/162

RIVER SHIPS BUILT FOR USSR, NORWAY

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 86 p 3

[Article by Dragana Trajkovic: "Quality Attracts Customers"]

[Text] From the beginning of the year to the end of September, the Dunavbrod Business Cooperative for River Shipbuilding delivered 10 ships valued at \$77.67 million to be used for hauling fruits and vegetables to a Soviet partner. Before the end of the year it will deliver the remaining seven ships with a value of \$56.28 million. Since the Soviet customer picked up three ships last year, all obligations from an agreement concerning the sale of 20 ships to the Soviet Union, signed in 1983, will have been fulfilled with these deliveries. By the end of December, two tugboats valued at \$11.9 million will also have been completed for the Soviet Union.

"Contracts with the Soviet Union for 1987-1990 have a total value of approximately \$163 million," says Borislav Kmezic, technical collaborator for development of river shipyards at Dunavbrod. This means that over the next four years our shipyards will build 20 tugboats, 8 push-type tugboats, and 18 push-pull tugboats for the LASH system.

Contracts with the Soviet Union are expected before the end of this year at Dunavbrod for the sale of 22 more fruit and vegetable hauling ships with a total value of \$186.78 million. Negotiations are in progress with Bulgaria concerning a major job over the next five years. If successfully concluded, the two-way exchange will come to \$100 million.

On the convertible currency market Yugoslav shipyards are mostly collaborating with Norway at the moment. By 1990 three ships for coastal shipping and one for a fish-processing factory will be constructed. The total value of these four ships is \$16 million.

All the ships for the Soviet Union and Norway will be built by the following river shipyards: Tito in Belgrade, Boris Kidric in Apatin, Sava in Macvanska Mitrovica, Novi Sad in Novi Sad, and Begej from Zrenjanin, with subcontractors.

Yugoslav shipyards are obviously adapting well to the crisis in world shipbuilding. "Why?" we asked Dragan Milicevic, acting director of the Dunavbrod Work Community.

"Mostly because of the quality of the ships which come from our shipyards. In addition, we sell ships at world prices. Yugoslavia is one of the 10 leading countries in world shipbuilding, according to potential orders and orders received. During the last 30 years approximately 2000 ships have been produced of varying sizes and for different purposes in Yugoslavia's river shipyards. As many as 65 percent of these were exported to 25 countries on four continents."

The rule in the Yugoslav economy that large exporters also import a great deal appears not to be valid for shipbuilders. Imported components made up 30 to 40 percent of the total cost of building a ship costing \$8 million until a few years ago, but this has now been reduced to only 0.1 percent.

9548/13104
CSO: 2800/51

SERBIA PROMOTES JOINT INVESTMENTS IN KOSOVO

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 8-10 Nov 86 p 11

[Article by Rade Grujic: "Quantity Achieved--Quality Anticipated; Programs of Direct Association with Kosovo's Economy between Support and Resistance"]

[Text] Serbian business is increasingly turning to joint investment programs rather than the classical form of allocating funds to accelerate Kosovo's development. Many problems exist. The impression is that they are most often caused by the current practice of bureaucratic management of these funds.

It has been a matter of open discussion for quite some time that funds allocated by the developed republics and by Vojvodina for the account of underdeveloped areas have not always been used the way the law intended. Moreover, the problem of money intended for Kosovo has become especially difficult both because of the amount of these funds and because it is a politically sensitive time in this province. This year alone 120 billion dinars should be allocated to Kosovo. The amount set aside for the remaining underdeveloped areas is only a little higher at 150 billion dinars.

For this reason an initiative put forth not quite a year and a half ago, which stated that organizations interested in investing in Kosovo and other underdeveloped areas enter into direct agreements, met with support. However, there were many who doubted that anything further would come from this verbal support. Business in Serbia proper, which allocates the largest share of funds to be used for stimulating more rapid development in Kosovo, demonstrated particular interest in this form of allocation and use of funds.

Proposal To Change Law

What has happened has proved the skeptics wrong. In the first 10 months of this year alone, 33 economic organizations from Serbia have signed 22 self-management agreements to implement construction project programs in Kosovo which have been approved by both councils and by authorized banks. The total value of these programs is 37.5 billion dinars--of which 29.7 billion were to have been implemented this year--which is 11 percent higher than the value of total obligations Serbian business had based on allocated funds for accelerated development of Kosovo. Association is obviously changing the classical relationship of obligatory allocation of funds, when funds were

beyond any sort of supervision, especially the supervision of those who had provided this money from their own income. In no way, however, does this mean that all problems and misunderstandings in these relationships have been eliminated.

For precisely this reason, an initiative was recently issued by the Serbian Economic Council for changing certain articles of the law which regulate money directed for the development of underdeveloped areas. The initiative seeks to have legal decrees regulate more precisely the form of direct association of funds and the channels through which they are directed, which are now obstructed to a large extent by bureaucratic procedure and by the way decisions are made. Of course, these regulations would be valid for all underdeveloped areas in the country and not just Kosovo. There is already resistance to this initiative, but it is realistic to expect that the opinions of those who ultimately allocate this money and who are most interested in its fate will prevail.

Until this comes about, problems involved with the unregulated status of this form of association will increase. The existing practice, recently discussed by representatives of organizations in Serbia and Kosovo which have signed self-management agreements, by the authorized banks and the two councils, has confirmed that no single current program is devoid of these problems. We will cite some examples.

Condition--Competitive Product

Zastava enterprises are involved in three programs in Kosovo with a total value of 16 billion dinars, according to preliminary estimates. Two are with the Ramiz Sadiku organization in Pec. One is with the Amortizeri work organization in Pristina. Things have come to a halt with Amortizeri with regard to a request for a guarantee from Zastava that it will purchase shock absorbers produced in Pristina. Zastava accepts this in principle (because why would it otherwise go into a program valued at eight billion dinars), but with the condition that the shock absorbers be competitive in quality, price, and terms of delivery. While there is still disagreement, Invest Bank has put money into a second program.

Niteks in Nis is building a plant for children's clothing in Kosovo Kamenica for 400 workers including an export program for Western Europe. It has been claimed that the plant might be finished five months ahead of schedule, but a problem has come up in obtaining approval to close on additional financed construction, or, to put it more simply, to get more money. The Associated Kosovo Bank claims that at the beginning this program was rated one of the best, but that it does not make sense that only 60 days since construction started it be announced that the budget had been exceeded by 1.5 billion dinars.

Things have come to a halt between Termovent in Belgrade and First of May in Prizren over the future status of the Prizren organization, into which the Belgrade partner has invested money and equipment, and for which it is ready to relocate a significant proportion of its present program. The agreement

stated precisely that after this was done First of May would become a part of Termovent, but those in Prizren now have second thoughts and Termovent will not give in.

The business cooperative of the Jugofrigo refrigeration network is ready to enter into a program with six associated Basic Organizations of Associated Labor to build large refrigeration units in Dzakovica, with a capacity of 6000 tons, at a preliminary cost of 5.2 billion dinars. To a request for a guarantee for the necessary funds, the Associated Kosovo Bank responded that this would not be easy to give, that there was unused refrigeration capacity in Kosovo Polje, and that the original value of the investment has already been increased to seven billion dinars. Etc., etc.

Not one of the 22 programs mentioned is without problems, even those which have been completed and which are entering regular production. Sometimes the problem is working capital, sometimes guarantees for importing equipment or the unresolved status of the future project, but the majority of the problems is in relationships between banks, those who associate funds, and the authorized bodies in the economic councils. One has also heard examples such as money having been approved, but no one knowing in whose account it lies or who is using it. All these difficulties drag out the phase of preparing a program so that it is no wonder that after the first request for approval a second usually follows to get approval for exceeding the funds allocated. This year there have been 18 additional requests.

In spite of everything mentioned above, there is no doubt that reservations concerning this form of investment in Kosovo's economy are becoming less and less frequent. A real opportunity for programs to improve in quality, to become more justifiable in terms of revenue and more in accord with the needs of changing the economic structure in the province lies in this acceptance.

9548/13104
CSO: 2800/51

LIBERAL ECONOMISTS DISCUSS ADVANTAGES OF MIXED ECONOMY

Belgrade PRIVREDNA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 86 pp 23-31

[Round table with Janez Jerovsek, Tomislav Nikolic, Miroljub Labus, Slobodan Inic, Slobodan Ostojic, Bogomir Kovac, Vladimir Gligorov, and Joze Menciger: "Mixed Economy—Chance or Threat to Socialism"]

[Text] A mixed economy is undoubtedly the reality in which we live. On the other hand, the normative superstructure pursues certain goals which are not the goals of a mixed economy but rather a uniform, i.e., pure economy. Just now attempts are being made to resolve this conflict between the normative and the real. Small business is one of the methods being offered, but more as a forced and temporary step, an ideological concession, than as the result of a need and a decision to change certain goals and ideas about what a socialist economy is and what purpose it should serve. This is probably why discussions of the mixed economy arouse real consternation: what is this? what is meant by this? etc. Wishing to answer at least some of the questions posed above, EKONOMSKA POLITIKA organized a round table, in which Janez Jerovsek, Tomislav Nikolic, Miroljub Labus, Slobodan Inic, Slobodan Ostojic, and Bogomir Kovac participated, along with Vladimir Gligorov, our regular contributor, as leader of the round table. A written contribution was sent by Joze Menciger. The contribution was prepared by Mijat Lakicevic.

[Gligorov] The first issue that comes up when one discusses a mixed economy is naturally related to property, or more precisely the pluralism of property relationships. There is virtually no socialist country that does not accept several forms of property. This is not in dispute. What is disputed, however, is which forms of property can be effectively used; in the second place, what their ratio is in a modern economy; and in the third place, whether these two things are mutually dependent.

The idea that private property can exist as a private plot, or something broader than that, means more or less that it has a marginal status, and in the second place, that its forms are very limited. A person can be the owner of a craftsman's shop, a coffee shop, or a weekend cottage, but there is no private property in the form of a stock company, etc. In my opinion, these limitations and this attitude toward property fundamentally determine the efficiency of a socialist economy.

Another interesting topic is the role of the market. There is both a theoretical and ideological problem here since, on one hand, it is difficult to find a socialist economy that does not use the market in one way or another, but on the other hand, there is no answer to what the ratio should possibly be between what we used to call conscious guidance (i.e., a plan) and the market, nor is it really fully known what is expected from both of these. This ratio also affects efficiency. In my opinion, the essence of a mixed economy is not that it is a plan/market economy. The essence lies more in what I said before, in the forms of property, in the basic economic institutions, etc., and not in a combination of plan and market. Above all, this is because the very concept of planning, as it has been formulated in the socialist countries, in socialist awareness, is far from what, strictly speaking, some more modern planning ought to be. The plan was intended and has always been justified as a set of institutions that are parallel to and competitive with market institutions, and which should be predominant in one way or another. In a certain very profound theoretical sense, this topic, in my opinion, is interesting because, leaving the socialist and mixed economies aside, it is certainly interesting whether the scope of price regulation is limited in time in view of the nonexistence of so-called long-term markets and long-term contracts, and whether in the final analysis, in some long-term sense, every country has to think quantitatively, strategically, or structurally because a decision on a long-term strategy cannot be linked solely to current share exchange trends. That type of planning, however, has quite a different meaning. In general, that so-called industrial policy has quite a different meaning than that of a socialist plan.

To be specific, the reality in Yugoslavia is perhaps even more at odds with the norm than anywhere else. In a certain sense, it is not even clear whether there has been any consensus over the last 20 years on Yugoslavia's developing in the direction of a more modern and more mixed economy, toward participation in the modern world, or whether the ideological consensus was in the other direction--finding the absolutely purest model of a socialist economy. On the other hand, for various reasons, some of which are real and some of which just happened, Yugoslavia is more open toward other countries; it has somewhat more of a market. It has somewhat more of the so-called informal sector, and fortunately or unfortunately, it has somewhat less effective political control. I would particularly like us to say something about this subject--whether, as I feel, for example, innovations in economic institutions in this country should go in the direction of allowing more forms of property, a greater role for the market, and whether this is one way to resolve the current difficulties and emerge from the crisis.

[Nikolic] First of all, I would like to point out the need to create room for a democratic and well-reasoned discussion because we are still excessively burdened with various myths and dogmas. Some topics are closed, at least from places where decisions are made, even before a real discussion has started. I would just like to remind you of the mood after the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor--that we had set up the most wonderful and the best constitutional system in the world, that no one had invented anything like what we had invented, etc. Not even after the 10-12 years since they went into effect, which have revealed many shortcomings, have we given up these euphoric views; we still blame the practical implementation for all difficulties. The

constitutional definition of social property is usually repeated word for word as if there were no alternative concept. Perhaps social property, as defined that way, can exist under communism. At least for now, however, we do not have the material conditions for something like that. What we call social property today is essentially state property in the worst form.

I must state here that the 13th Congress made a mistake in not permitting the development of a discussion of shareholding property and other forms in connection with the discussion by Gojko Stanic, who spoke about the income system. There was a discussion, but it met with no response.

In connection with this, as we are already continually citing Marx, I would like to recall the third volume of "Das Kapital," where he says that shareholding property is more advanced than private and state-capitalist property.

[Jerovsek] I would like to answer three questions in my discussion. First, why we do not have a mixed economy. Second, which macroeconomic conditions should exist to allow a mixed economy to develop. And third, what the real material conditions are for the development of a mixed economy.

What prevents the development of a mixed economy? My basic thesis is that we do not have a mixed economy, or it is poorly developed, because we do not have the institutional conditions for developing one. I will try to demonstrate this thesis theoretically and empirically.

There are obstacles to the development of a mixed or private economy at the macro level. Our system has obtained such characteristics and such a degree of self-determinism that it cannot incorporate elements that are foreign to its nature. Our system is essentially based upon administrative regulation and a monopoly of power. If we look at the development of our system during the last 40 years, we can ascertain that it has continually strengthened administrative regulation with an enormous normative control function and that it has gradually eliminated or reduced the role of the private sector and expelled the mixed type of economy from its framework. Etatist elements have particularly increased since 1972. This is confirmed for us by the proportion of the private sector in the social product from 1952 to 1984. In 1952 the private sector's share in the social product was 30.5 percent, but 10 years later 27.2 percent, in 1970 18 percent, in 1980 13 percent, and in 1984 12 percent.

These data indicate that the private sector's role has continually declined even when we have begun to talk at all of our forums about a commodity economy, how to stimulate it, develop it, etc. This indicates that the system has developed such characteristics incompatible with the private sector. If the private sector exists, it exists as a foreign body within the system. The system tolerates it only as long as that private sector is small and undeveloped. A more developed, i.e., stronger private sector would change the stratification of the social structure, and consequently, society naturally defends itself and does not permit this stratification structure to be changed.

Another characteristic of the system is that it does not tolerate market parameters as regulators of the economy. When we introduced real interest rates in response to pressure from the International Monetary Fund, many economists claimed that we would not have done it ourselves, without external pressure. The real interest system is politically intolerable, however. That is why we returned to highly negative interest rates. The same is true of competition, which according to Marx is the most important stimulus to the development of production forces. It is intolerable to the system, however, since that is not what characterizes it. The system is characterized by a monopoly of the market, a monopoly of ideas, a monopoly of initiatives, and a monopoly of ideology. Everyone in the system is fighting for a monopoly. Almost 70 percent of our markets are monopolistic. Monopolies are so extensive that they even reach where there is no monopolistic function, to the lowest territorial levels. The system, in its determinism, has become independent of the desire and will of people and even of organized political bodies. The proof that this is true is that all forums and representatives of the government say that our goal is a market economy, but there is less and less of a market.

If the system does try to carry out any reform based on the market--which so far has not been successful either here or in any socialist country--it always returns to the original situation. The system is simply not capable of tolerating major changes, except for those changes which support the system's characteristics.

Let us take cadre policy, for example. A great deal has been said about how it will be changed, but nothing has been changed. It is antiprofessional or not very professional because the system does not even need a highly professionalized cadre policy. In the system as it is, and not as it is declared to be, there is no room for innovation. There is no room for small private business or a mixed economy. There is no room for professional management. A characteristic of our system is that it needs a nonprofessional political management cadre rotated among incompatible activities. For this reason it fosters a "manager" as a political worker and not as a profession, which is the case everywhere in the world.

Where does the problem lie? Mijalko Todorovic said in his book that the problem is in our dogmatism. This means that we need another different new concept of socialism that would adapt to new technology and a new stratification structure. In that structure the intelligentsia, particularly the technical intelligentsia, would have to play the most significant role since in developed states the technical intelligentsia necessary to redefine the working class, which technology in the very developed states is putting in the position of a marginal group. The typical manual laborers mentioned by Marx amount to only 12 percent in the United States. It is necessary to allow different economic entities to become more active and to give them the kind of institutional basis with which it will be necessary to develop initiative and creativity.

We are talking here about a mixed economy. A mixed economy would mean a great change. Our system, however, does not tolerate great changes. All

great changes in our country are characterized as anticonstitutional and perhaps even anti-Yugoslav.

Next the question of the agent of changes arises. The system by itself, on the basis of a very strong autodeterminism, acts, fuels itself, perpetuates itself, but it does not change itself....

[Inic] What do you mean by this self-determinism? This is a very interesting thesis.

[Jerovsek] I mean by this that every individual, every entity, every group, nation, and republic has its own goals and interests, and that this parallelism of interests and forces results in something that no one wanted and that has no connection with science (since we speak of "scientific" socialism). Consequently, I consider the system to be something that acts independently of people. What are the chances for a mixed economy, then? Based on everything that I have said--very small, quite modest.

[Labus] Before I go on to the main theme of my statement, I would like to point out that the data on the private sector's share in the social product that Comrade Jerovsek presented are correct, but this decline in the private sector is due to the decline in agriculture's share in the social product. The nonagricultural part of the private sector has been fluctuating around 4 percent for 30 years. This is an excellent confirmation of the thesis that in fact we do not even want a private sector and that we are not affirming it by any means; we are keeping it marginal for several ideological, political, and social reasons because the private sector also implies a different social structure, a different way of behavior, etc.

Look at all the reforms in the socialist economy, including all of our postwar reforms. When do people insist on economic decentralization, cost accounting, enterprise autonomy and private initiative? When do they insist on economic incentives? It is always when the system gets into a crisis. If market cost accounting were adopted, it would turn out that the crisis is much deeper. The market would show that there are still several other problems that are not being manifested at present--mistaken and unprofitable investments, etc.

On the other hand, since the introduction of the market begins to create even greater problems, this becomes a pretext for eliminating it and resorting to the old methods again. I am afraid that we will have something similar this time as well. Naturally, I do not think that history repeats itself absolutely, but we have come to a situation in which we really must find a reasonable answer to the crisis, and this danger obviously exists.

I would like to continue analyzing this problem using one of the main problems as an example--the allocation of resources. In a market, resources are private property. Individuals own them and use them in their private interest. Because of this, competition occurs in the market. Those who cannot adapt to the competition fail. Those who have made an incorrect investment decision fail. There is no policy here.

With a planning system, however, as ours partially is, it is quite different. Resources are so-called social, state, or national property. Public property, by the nature of things, also implies the existence of some common interest. When something is public property, it must be used in the public interest. All other parochial interests must be subordinated to this public interest. There would not be so many problems with this if the economic system were not connected to the political system at this point. Public interest is politicized and becomes a political interest. This creates problems with economic responsibility, which is immediately identified with political responsibility. The responsibility for mistaken investments, as the example of Fení shows, becomes a political responsibility. From the standpoint of economics, this means an absence of economic responsibility. As long as those responsible for incorrect political decisions have met the criteria for being politically answerable, economic responsibility does not exist. As soon as economic responsibility does not exist, this has to be reflected in the bookkeeping. Bad cost accounting must be done, which somehow has to tolerate and conceal all of these things happening in the system. This in turn leads to completely arbitrary decision-making. Accordingly, if something determines whether there is a market or not, it is property.

It is not possible at this time to give a theoretically new concept of property that would be based on both the market and planning. I wrote a book with the title of "Social or Group Property" in which I tried to give one of the possible answers to the question of how the market and planning can in principle be theoretically combined into a consistent system. Whether this solution is really historically possible does not depend on theory alone, but also depends upon real historical forces, whether someone wants to implement this or not, and whether he can or not.

Specifically, the relationship of the market and planning is less complex than people think. It is necessary to have a true and realistic vision of the economy and see what elements in that economy can be planned and which elements should be left to the market. I think that in this sense we have to deal with certain dogmas. Above all, some of the dogma is derived from our theoretical heritage itself. We criticize income theorists, but they adopt a Marxist paradigm that puts the emphasis on distribution and production with the slogan "Not sovereignty of the consumers, but sovereignty of the workers and the working class."

[Nikolic] If I may interrupt.... Marx has a certain regular relationship among production, distribution, exchange, and consumption. With income theory there is no connection at all among production, distribution, consumption, etc. Consequently, the individual does not appear in it anywhere; there is no person because it has been established there that the OUR [organization of associated labor] is everything. But that is not Marx's paradigm.

[Gligorov] We can argue a little about this.

[Labus] As soon as there is no individual, this, translated to market relationships, means that there is no one responsible for demand. If there is no one responsible for demand, market relationships are incomplete. The problem

with Marx is that he considers the problem of this link between distribution and price, i.e., the market, but does not show the kind of feedback that exists because the market has a feedback effect upon both production and distribution. This could not have been shown in his time, but it exists today. As soon as one sphere is excluded, that is, demand is excluded, a false idea of the economy is created, and it cannot be regulated.

[Gligorov] I have just read Bajt's defense of Marx as an apologist for market relationships, moreover perfect ones. This does not exist, however, in my opinion. What Labus says is true. Marx criticizes the economies that start with trade and the market. He starts with production. For Marx, distribution is endogenously determined and dependent in this sense upon production, while in income theory everything is essentially resolved through distribution, and everything starts with distribution, with the working class that holds the entire income. Admittedly, this is one more Leninist variant, but Marx cannot be completely freed from responsibility for this because in a certain way he denied the demand and market side.

[Labus] I would like to say something about stocks. I am in favor of stocks, but I think that there is no chance of introducing them in our system for very clear reasons. In the first place, with stocks we have private capital. There is always an owner's risk. No one wants to invest money in a stock in some enterprise unless there is some form of owner control. We can institute stocks, but if we rule out this control, realistically, the stocks and the amount of the stocks will be minimal. We do not talk at all about risk in theory, but in practical decisions it is extremely significant. This means that a stock implies that the owner of the stock has some sort of control over management. This is incompatible with self-management, which excludes any control. But there are quite a few other reasons. A system of stocks can only be successful if there is a stock market or some system for the monetization of stocks.

It is a very flexible system. With stocks, capital and the logic of capital are different from the way in which we treat capital. The value of capital is determined by the capitalization of earnings, and as the profit or interest rate changes, not only does the value of the stocks change, but through the change in the value of the stocks, the value of the capital invested in the stock company changes. We, on the contrary, have the system of the "historical" value of capital. Capital is revalued in accordance with the rate of inflation quite independently of the extent of the rate of yield.

A stock implies a highly organized market. But our government freezes all economic life or unfreezes it every three months; imagine what an effect this would have on stocks. One can summon 200 directors and tell them what to do, but not 2 million stockholders. These are purely practical reasons which indicate that even if we did introduce a stock system it would not function. Instead of this, some form of bonds could work, because they do not imply participation in management. Bonds, however, imply something else--a real interest rate. In the second place, the problem of monetization has to be solved. We have had bonds tried several times with a national loan. I remember the earlier Toza Markovic (Kikinda). Now Crvena Zastava is trying. But these are neither real stocks nor real bonds.

[Jerovsek] Here I will throw in one consideration that is not economic, i.e., confidence. No market system can function without confidence. In our country, there is no confidence. If the citizens have no confidence, no stock system can function.

[Gligorov] That is true. On the other hand, it is also true that even if a stock exchange did open any government could smash it overnight if it wanted to. Thus, it requires not only mutual confidence among people, but also responsibility on the part of the state toward these markets.

[Labus] And that authority is limited so that no government can abolish the market.

[Gligorov] That is the essence of things. That confidence in the government can hardly be easily created, and that is part of the diagnosis of the situation.

[Kovac] It is well known that at the end of the 20th century, after 100-150 years of theory, ideology, and practice, socialism has come to such a dead end that there is really no great historical alternative and that consideration of a socialist alternative is consideration of an alternative to socialism.

The question that occurs to me today is why the great encounter with reality has been a trauma for socialism in recent years, why this logic of socialism has actually degenerated somehow into boring ideological rhetoric and trivial political camouflage. This is not a question of socialism appearing in economically underdeveloped conditions. It is rather question of its continuing to reproduce this economic underdevelopment. From the economic standpoint, socialism also means the development of underdevelopment. Where is the big mistake that should be considered?

We have talked about Marx today as one of the ideological creators of socialism. We have said little about Leninism as a continuation of this, but this socialist practice is a continuation and product of Leninism and not so much Marxism, in spite of the fact that we can find virtually everything in Marx, including elements for which we could blame him.

In my opinion, however, in order to comprehend this problem it is very important that Marx's model of socialism, we can even say communism, be understood as an outlook for humanity that bears within itself what I would call a profoundly European tradition of humanism. It is an outlook in which society has a landmark toward which it will move, but it is not an institutional system that must be put into practice. If we try this, we will have ruined Marx and Marxism as a historical outlook, as a positive utopia. On the other hand, we have ruined practice itself because we have institutionalized a system that cannot be made to work at all. We thus arrive at a point where any implementation of the utopian scheme, which is evident in concepts like social property, associated labor, self-management, and division according to labor, in some way blocks all of the derived mechanisms that put these basic postulates into effect within the framework of the

economic system. For this reason, I think that the system that we introduced in the 1980's shows, with the greatest historical cynicism, this duality between Marx's vision, Marx's concepts, and practice itself. Obviously, contradictions exist somehow between the ideological projection of socialism and political normativism (where I support the thesis of a clear dominance of the political over the economic), on one hand, and on the other, the economic means that could make the socialist system economically fit for historical reproduction and historical development.

The return to a commodity economy opens up the question of the essence of socialism in accordance with the ideological official criteria. In a way this raises the initial ideological issue that blocks the entire discussion of a mixed economy, whether the historical practice of socialism is something progressive, which leads to a postcapitalist phase, or whether socialism in many respects remains in a precapitalist phase, if we consider capital a historical-developmental process (and there is no reason why the power of development and transformation should be ascribed solely to socialism).

I think that this is a condition, a logic, which in some way determines a mixed economy. As for the possibility of a mixed economy in Yugoslavia, I feel that it is necessary to find an institutional system that will be economically efficient. If it is economically efficient, I think that it will also be politically legitimate....

[Nikolic] If a political decision is linked with economic criteria, then economics is a basis for determining whether the political decision is correct or not. During the 40 years of building socialism in Yugoslavia, however, economics has never been a criterion for politics.

[Labus] Kovac is right when he says that this society cannot meet the challenge unless it changes its attitude toward economics. Politics is legitimate only if its decisions are economically justified.

[Kovac] Political-democratic practice is also essential. Politics also has its area in which it should act. Economics is not the only thing that will determine what is correct. In my opinion, there are two messages: one is within the framework of the political system where a political-democratic dialogue should be established. If a democratic dialogue exists in the sense of a pluralistic concept, a pluralism of ideas, programs, etc., then there is a possibility of political responsibility....

[Gligorov] If we have this, then we also have another criterion, that in economics every political decision must have some economic effects, so that the best ones can be selected.

[Kovac] Clearly. But I would like to say something else. I will not consider the barriers and obstacles to a mixed economy, but rather the solutions that have proven suitable elsewhere in the world. If we want to participate in the modern technological revolution, some formulas from the 1970's indicate the way in which the capitalist economy, which does not have any ideological and political prejudices about its nature and which is historically pragmatic

in terms of the way it resolves a crisis situation, struggled with the crisis and reformed itself. It is an overall shift toward the market, as part of the reform that the capitalist system underwent in a way, the problem of reprivatization, entrepreneurship, management, deregulation, etc....

My viewpoint is: if we introduce commodity production as a possible solution to our overall crisis, then it is also necessary to take into account and institutionalize the kind of system in which commodity production can begin to function as an economically efficient system. In this context, I do not see any obstacles to our introducing a very diversified set of property relationships.

As for organization, I think that in a mixed economy it is very important to provide room for small business, small organizational forms, which today are the basis for modern technological changes, flexibility, innovation, etc. Then we would have a three-sector model of the economy--the private sector, the social sector, and finally, the one that would remain within this framework, a mixed collective sector that we can diversify however we want.

There is a problem in implementing this concept. Provided that we had a government with a plan for getting out of the crisis, the social sector could be given a transitional period of 5-6 years and some economic policy parameters that would make business conditions more demanding. The enterprises that do not succeed within this period fail. On the other hand, there would be a sector that we do not have now, but which could contain all forms of ownership, starting with individual, private, collective, corporate, stock property, etc., without any of these types of property becoming dominant, although I think that state or social property will probably be dominant.

[Jerovsek] One question for Comrade Kovac. He said that he did not see any obstacles to a pluralism of property relationships. But I, and not just me, or rather, I do not see any possibilities in the system for this. I will cite just one example. The hectare minimum is economically and technologically absurd. Everyone knows this, but nothing changes. This indicates that the system is not willing to change anything in property relationships, in the sense of property pluralism.

[Kovac] I agree with this completely. We are sitting here today not in order to change the system, but to point out possible alternatives to the public. I agree completely that with the present distribution of political power, there are no possibilities at all for changing the system, as the party congresses have proven. Consequently, the assumption we are all talking about here is that something will change in the system and the possibility that the party or.... I am afraid of alternative political factors, not because I am afraid of alternatives, but because I am afraid of the possible political solutions of some new factors for bringing this society out of the crisis. We are talking about a positive alternative, whether it is possible to associate a pluralist form of property with a different vision of self-management, or a different vision of socialism. Our people are bothered by whether we can resolve this issue through the existing political institutions. These are

very relevant themes today. Within the framework of the economic system, it is the issue of commodity production. If we resolve this matter, then we are halfway there. But in the political sphere today we have the issue of the theory of civil society, and I understand the theory of civil society as the theory and practice of political democracy. If we succeed in having a pluralism of economic interests, a pluralism of economic political institutions, if we have economic-political efficiency, responsibility, then we would be able to find maneuvering room to seek solutions. But as far as the real possibilities are concerned, as Labus said, that is a matter of current historical compulsions, subjects, and left-right shifts. It is important here for us to establish theoretically somehow that this can occur. Socialism does not have to be what has been defined as socialism, because I do not consider this kind of socialism, as it has been normatively defined and normatively set up, to be socialism. I agree on a different concept, which is the recapitalization of society. It is not something that leads backward, but on the contrary, it means a step forward. What socialism is today is in the prehistory of what I would call the capitalist system. In my opinion, it is necessary to acknowledge in some way that socialist revolutions must begin or must proceed from the economic base of social capital, and not from some ideological dogmas, and then see through socialization and capital replacement to what extent it is possible to guide society toward the socialist outlook.

[Labus] I think that what we all agree upon here is that the introduction of the market is not a purely economic issue. It implies a change in property relationships, and a change in property relationships is linked to the social structure, the interests of social groups and classes. This in turn is linked to the political system. The introduction of the market in Yugoslavia cannot succeed simply because this is a very complex change that must have repercussions in the area of society and politics as well.

[Inic] In the topics for this conversation the question of why we are afraid of a mixed economy was also raised. I think that there really is a sort of ideological fear in regard to different business methods, a mixed economy, self-management economics, and so forth. There are several reasons for this, in my opinion. First of all, there is ideology, but it has somehow lost its original strength and has been replaced by what I call the material base of state power, with the idea of the danger to socialism. The third thing is mistakes, because there are people who are mistaken with respect to these matters. Next, there is the so-called resistance to economic and political competition because the social sector actually fears competition. The sixth thing is the fear of enrichment. And finally, I think, there is the prohibition of political and economic freedoms.

The question that occurs to me is what the fear of a danger to socialism from private property means. One could speak instead of a danger to socialism from the restriction of private property, at least in terms of consequences. The fear that private property might threaten socialism is less serious than the party's monopolistic role.

Marxist-Leninist political economy has not only led to the backwardness of the theory of the mixed economy; it has never even assumed it in its concepts,

while in the practical sense it is ruined. Lenin said once that free trade is a crime and that private property gives birth to capitalism. This theory, however, did not just destroy half of the mixed economy or all of the property that allegedly aspires toward capitalism. It seems to me that it destroyed the economy in general. I will quote one of our typical Marxist-Leninists. You will see what he considers most important: "It is clear that the process of changing the nature of the economy had to begin with sociopolitical changes. It was completely impossible for the contradiction between the nature of the government and the nature of the economy to exist for a long time, or for the general development of the economy to lag behind the development of the people's power. In this regard, an alternative was presented: either the nature of the economy would have to be changed, or, if such a contradiction were allowed to exist for a long time, the new government would fail...." Thus, the most important thing is that the government not fail....

There is evidence that Lenin, at least to some extent, admitted his mistake. The admission came only in a speech about the facts concerning the breakdown of the Soviet postrevolutionary economy and by no means because Lenin had allowed himself to be convinced by opposing arguments. By the way, I think that there is a chance here for our situation, not in the sense of achieving this through some efforts of this type, as economists are attempting today, but through the necessities of the situation itself. But here is what Lenin said: "We made a mistake in this regard by going too far. We went too far in nationalizing trade and industry. Consequently, Leninist socialism found itself in an amazing position of needing capitalism in order to prepare socialism.

[Ostojic] Since those who spoke before me have already said a great deal of this, I will skip over a considerable part of what I intended to say at the start. I will raise the question of what exactly is meant by introducing a mixed economy, and which development problems we would solve among those we are facing and those we will face in the next 10-15 years.

Strasimir Popovic gave an answer to the question of what this mixed economy would be in our conditions in his book "Survey of the Economic System of Yugoslavia." As Kovac stated a little while ago, he divided the economy into three sectors: private, corporatist, and the third sector, the sector of de facto nationalized industry, which exists in every country of the world, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States; there it is just done with different instruments.

In my opinion, the main thing that the introduction of a mixed economy would contribute is flexibility and rapid reaction by the economy to changes in the environment. To a great extent, we have fallen into a crisis because of the enormous slowness with which we react to what happens. From the 2 oil shocks to monetary disruptions and technological innovations we have worked so slowly that while we are building the factory that is our response to this, there has been a change in the exchange rate and interest rates. New restrictions have been introduced in international trade. It is very difficult to make structural shifts with such a horribly inflexible and slow economy. Less flexible firms that appear rapidly and disappear rapidly could be an answer to the requirement for speed. This is not possible, however, with the concept of social property.

Look at what is happening in the world's more developed countries. The service industry is growing stronger, high technology is growing stronger, capital is moving out of large inefficient industries into smaller flexible sectors, and the financial industry is changing. We do not have this, but we could with very small changes and with a concept of small business that is sociopolitically accepted.

Thus, in this area a mixed economy would have a strong effect on economic development. As for the results with respect to flexibility and structural changes, what are foreign experiences? We continually mention Hungary's experience. In their financial system, which is necessarily parallel to the introduction of this kind of concept of collective capital formation, they introduced the possibility of establishing enterprises and liquidating them more rapidly, which is a particular problem for us. In 1984 they introduced a financial market and a bond market. They have 30 types of bonds. These are not stocks. Bonds are acceptable under Yugoslav law as well. There are no major ideological barriers.

[Gligorov] There are ideological barriers, but there are no major legal ones. There are ideological barriers. That is the problem. It seems to me that the Law on Associated Labor provides a possibility for enterprises to issue bonds. That is what Crvena Zastava is doing, admittedly in an inefficient way. There is a limitation on the creation of the market, however. That is the essence of the problem.

[Ostojic] What is the problem with bonds in our country? An enormous part of our economy is illiquid, suffering losses. If someone wants to invest--I am talking about a relationship between the economy and the population--if someone wants to invest private money in some bonds, tell me which enterprise he would invest in. The question is whether there are five such enterprises in Yugoslavia. Will he invest in Gosa or MKS? On the other hand, between the population and the economy, stocks absolutely require control by the investors over an enterprise's operation. That is almost unacceptable and infeasible within the framework of the system.

Monopoly has been mentioned. Comrade Jerovsek made a very good comment, especially with respect to competition. Every economic entity in the West tries to build a monopoly for itself. The institutions that society has established, however, do not allow it to build a monopoly. There is a natural desire on the part of every economic entity to build a monopoly. Doing business is much better and easier when you are alone and when you have no competition.

[Jerovsek] And if you lose, the state subsidizes the losses.

[Gligorov] An individual fear of competition can be and is rational, but if society has such a fear, it covers every mistake and inefficiency in business operation.

[Ostojic] I would agree with Labus that the form of property is not the central issue in the mixed economy. It is irrelevant, unless there is a

market with the opportunity of making a profit or failing. There must always be a fear of loss. That is what forces a person to behave differently with different forms of property.

[Gligorov] I would like to have us discuss this. Let us leave the form of property aside for a moment. How can a modern economy function without a certain financial market? That is also the key thing from the standpoint of the domestic market. An economy cannot become an economy if there is no financial market, if there is no movement of capital in relation to some rational things. A stock system is one of those that make this possible: the distribution of risk, the distribution of awards and punishments, the migration of capital, stock exchange funds. A lasting Yugoslav economy cannot exist with a lasting exclusion from a financial market. We are now excluded from the world financial market. This time we will not return to that market. That is the key thing, in my opinion. It is another question that, fortunately or unfortunately, the opening of a financial market--and here I agree with Labus--nevertheless implies private property, whatever form it takes. One cannot do without it. So there is still a property result here. But even if we look at the issue of efficiency itself, which is the most pragmatic possible. It also simply affects all of the property assumptions....

[Ostojic] In the final analysis, when we create mixed economies, even when we are thinking about institutional changes that would get us out of the crisis, the main problem is still political organization and polycentric etatism with the republic economies, banking, etc. You cannot even introduce a financial market in Yugoslavia. Banking is completely imprisoned within republic boundaries.

[Gligorov] Even here I have a counterargument--American banking is also territorialized, but the stock exchange is not....

[Ostojic] Organizationally, yes, but functionally, no.

[Gligorov] But it is in accordance with norms. The stock exchange is not, and that is the essence of the matter. Even regardless of this, the financial market--securities in New York, Tokyo, and London--functions independently of the banking system.

[Labus] I do not agree with Labus when he says that social property is not appropriate for small enterprises. In this state neither private, nor social, nor mixed property can penetrate these barriers. The state hinders every form of initiative, especially small ones. But small business is flexible and cannot wait for a year. If there is a desire to develop small business, this can be resolved within the framework of the existing property relationships.

[Ostojic] The state is like that because its basic logic is fiscal and redistributive. It takes away from those who work well and covers the losers. That is the sole logic of our state.

[Labus] The opstina does it for its own reasons. This is a question of the fiscal system because the opstina has to maintain a school and a kindergarten

and improve the roads in its territory. It consequently cannot do anything else but view every citizen as a sheep to be sheared.

[Jerovsek] But the opstina functions in accordance with the ideological parameters of the macro system.

[Nikolic] I think that it is the duty of the economy and science to elaborate that alternative model, the model of stock property, in spite of all the ideological barriers. As Labus rightly says, it is necessary to see how this will function economically and what has to be done in order for it to function economically. I have not, however, found in the socialist economic literature any study of how acceptable such a possibility is realistically; on the contrary, the starting point is always its ideological unacceptability.

Consequently, what kind of problems would really appear here? Above all, it is clear that the owner of stocks is necessarily interested in their real value and yield. Consequently, all categories--depreciation, expenses, price--would have to be realistic. But this, however, means that the entire system of income would be eliminated through the introduction and refinement of the model of stock property.

[Labus] We are all in favor of the introduction of realistic economic categories; something else then becomes variable that has so far been fixed, and that is employment. When you have all realistic expenses and factors, including the expense of the labor force, if an enterprise suffers losses or does badly, you have to reduce the number of employees. But in our country the situation is the opposite--employment is treated as fixed. You cannot fire anyone, but you can reduce his salary. The problem of the technological surplus has to be solved. What about those people? This does not mean that one should not do this, but when you introduce realistic categories--let us go back to the relationship of planning and the market--when you introduce a market, you cannot introduce it without money. You have to have some fund and some system that will provide the means for that technologically surplus labor force to be employed in small business or in small enterprises. If that is not available, realistic categories cannot be introduced. It is very complex and this again shows that we cannot introduce a market in socialism unless we have a rationally defined planning system that will support that market. Not exclude it, but support it, because the market has some shortcomings of its own. One of these shortcomings is unemployment or the flexibility of employment. There has to be a mechanism that will reduce this unemployment.

[Kovac] We have to show a critical awareness that this kind of system does not correspond to those basic ideological premises that it stands behind. This socialist alternative at least offers possibilities for coming close to what we call socialism or what I would call the socialist-communist outlook.

[Labus] I would like to return to the concept of a mixed economy and define it a little more precisely. I like the division of the property sector into 3 groups: social property, private property, and mixed or corporative property. I would not touch the social sector for a moment or ask it to transform itself into some form of stock property for practical and substantive

reasons. It is necessary to introduce a new third sector, a mixed property sector. Management in the private and social sector will remain as it is, but in mixed enterprises it can develop according to the same self-management principles as in social enterprises, but one should not touch this. As consumers all enterprises, all entities, go to the same competitive market. Here one sector is more vital without declaring the social sector in advance to be more vital, and since it is not efficient, making the private sector even less efficient.

There is a possible solution--Kovac mentioned Mondragon--one should think seriously about the form of property that cooperative enterprises in Mondragon have....

In Mondragon there is no stock, but everyone who goes into an enterprise has to have a founding deposit. This deposit can be in money or a loan that he has received. He does not receive stock for that deposit. Instead that deposit is divided between two types of accounts, the so-called collective capital account and the individual capital account. Approximately 15 percent of the founding deposit goes to the collective capital account, and 85 percent is retained as his property in the individual capital account of each cooperative member. He cannot trade with this founding capital, however. He cannot even convert that deposit into money until he retires. And this works. This form of divided property is not so opposed to the principle of division according to labor, because he receives 6 percent interest on the 85 percent, and the principal is revalued, so that it has a real capital value.

On the other hand, the real price of the labor force is set. How is it set? On the basis of the principle of competition with the capitalist sector. The average wage in the labor force market has to be equal to the average personal income among the members of the cooperative, with the ranges in personal salaries being in the ratio of 1:3.

[Nikolic] You are losing sight of the following point: when a theoretical model is offered as an alternative, it continually comes into conflict with mistaken means. We have good goals even now, but the means that are offered for achieving these goals are mistaken and yield the opposite effects. I would not rule out the possibilities you have described, but I would not rule out others either. One should not exclude stocks.

[Labus] I am not excluding stocks at all. Every system has some prerequisites, however. The stock system has a prerequisite--the great security and precise functioning of the market. This other system that I mentioned does not imply the precise functioning of the financial market. It has certain other prerequisites.

[Gligorov] All of this makes sense if the system, viewed as a whole, ensures a real yield from funds--in the form of interest, profit, etc. It is only when that real yield has been ensured that the question of the form of financial operation or the status of the stock exchange comes up, along with the question of financial innovations and financial efficiency. We do not have that element at all. In this situation, however, it does not even make

any sense to have it because our system is functioning with property that does not provide a real yield. It is the system of the socialist economy of 1921. We have property that does not provide a real yield, does not perceive this responsibility, and in fact, through the state, charges for it in various ways--one through inflation, another time through nationalization, a third time through collectivization, a fourth time through the loss of the standard of living, and through various forms of crisis solutions. That is the essence of the matter. Once a person is on the Titanic, there is no sense in setting up the deck chairs.

[Menciger] A discussion of a mixed economy in Yugoslavia can only have academic significance, although in some socialist countries, especially China, it is acquiring practical significance. The reasons for this are numerous, even though mixed economies are far more efficient than any real socialist or self-managing socialist economies that are based upon the nationalization of the means of production. It is precisely because of this greater efficiency that one can assert that mixed economies are closer to socialism than the so-called socialist economies. All this, however, does not reduce the barriers classification, and keeping in mind that they overlap, I think that these barriers can be arranged in four groups: economic, economic-institutional, ideological, and political. Let us follow this sequence, although the order of the barriers in terms of real size is the opposite.

Even though it stimulated thoughts along these lines, the economic crisis is a significant barrier of an economic nature. Because of it, the creation of a mixed economy would be very slow even if we assumed that there were no other barriers. The crisis reduced the volume of the financial resources required for the creation of a mixed economy or the growth of the present "small" economy into a mixed one. In addition the crisis has increased business risks. One should not forget about the lack of economic initiative created in the course of the last 40 years, or the accustomed relatively comfortable life in the social sector, with various forms of socialization that made it possible for the capable to be exploited by the less capable. It is also obvious that a mixed economy would to some extent accept the labor and economic standards that we have and use all possible "loopholes" for improper business practices, as a result of which many of the phenomena well known from the former GG [expansion unknown] enterprises would occur during the first phase.

It is increasingly more obvious that the present wave of changes, which is also reflected in the planned changes to the Constitution and the ZUR [Law on Associated Labor], and especially the real changes in the economic system (the foreign trade system, the price system, etc.), do not indicate a return to a market economy, as envisioned by the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program. They are leading to a specific type of "anarcho-administrative" economy which relies upon ad hoc uncoordinated measures by the government, and which reduces real decision-making by economic entities to the level of 30 or more years ago. Because of the control of prices, wages, import flows, and financing, economic entities are completely losing their business autonomy. By the way, I am surprised that in the current discussions about changing the ZUR there has been no mention of the possibility of abandoning it, which would probably be a much cheaper solution than improving something that cannot be

improved. But neither the slowly abandoned system of an "agreement" economy nor the newly created system of an "anarcho-administrative" economy will make it possible for a mixed economy to emerge. The first cannot tolerate competition because it is based on illusions of the identity of the "self-managing" interests of economic entities, which merely have to be coordinated through self-management compacts and social agreements. In such a system of general cartelization, there is no place for a mixed economy in which competition is a condition for success. The "anarcho-administrative" system cannot tolerate a mixed economy because it creates disorder and a multitude of entities that cannot be forced to behave continually in opposition to their microeconomic interests.

The barriers that are derived from the ideological sphere are far more significant, especially the present idea of social property based on the mistaken belief that the distribution of the product is determined by ownership of the means of production in the legal sense. For this reason, it is believed that equality and division according to labor can be achieved through the nationalization of the means of production. Even 30 years ago, however, Prof Bajt, by distinguishing between property in the legal sense and property in the economic sense, established that real socialist relations can occur within the framework of formal private-property relation, and conversely, that relations that do not have anything in common with socialism can be maintained or can even appear in a system proclaimed to be socialist. It can easily be established that the division of the product, especially in our society, is not very dependent on the formal ownership of the means of production and on monopolized labor capabilities. The main determinant of the size of the "cake" is "ingenuity." Obviously this does not bother anyone, even though enormous resources are poured into private property in legal and illegal ways.

Although a legal institution does not determine the economic essence of property, the efficiency of the utilization of resources for production is not independent of the legal form of property, especially not in those activities in which, because of the production process, there is a direct link among labor, management, and the ownership of the means of production. These are economic activities in which, according to Marx, the worker's private property is the basis of production and a condition of his free individuality. One should not forget that the means of production, although formally private, remain social as long as they ensure an increase in the social product, but cease to be social if they are turned into means of consumption, even if they are proclaimed to be social. As the developed countries of northern Europe are proving, socialism can be achieved indirectly, i.e., after the fact, through a taxation program that is based on a social consensus preserving economic efficiency, which results from the private ownership (in the formal sense) of the means of production. The assertions we once heard that private property hinders the development of production forces are fairy tales. The modern world is showing that it is exactly the opposite. The developed capitalist economies do not have any problems finding the most efficient forms, while the socialist economies are continually faced with the search for "more efficient" organizational forms.

It also appears that the principle of compensation according to labor, especially past labor, and real self-management require the introduction of instruments similar to shares. The rules on compensation according to past labor usually do not have any connection with this at all. They are written in order to satisfy the requirements of the law. This also is not surprising because real compensation according to past labor can only be achieved through instruments similar to shares, perhaps non-transferrable ones, and so forth. Approximately the same thing applies to self-management: the equality of all workers in decision-making is also unfair to those who created and worked for years in a work organization. The introduction of shares or similar instruments would also completely change decisions about expenditure (personal incomes) and savings (capital formation) and thus about the allocation of resources. Until this exists, one cannot expect that distribution will take place without the involvement of the state in the allocation of resources and distribution.

Finally, let us go on to barriers of a political nature. It is obvious that the creation of a mixed economy would erode the party's political monopoly, just as it is being eroded by the market. Specifically, it would be shown immediately that such an economy does not need a vanguard, the party and state bureaucracy that would lose its power in it. Now through various personnel coordinations it appoints and replaces directors. A large number of directors come from it, are responsible to it, and identify with it. A statistical analysis would show that the people in the top posts in many of the more important economic organizations came to those posts through political merit from state bodies, sociopolitical organizations, etc. It would be difficult to find jobs for them in the organizations of a mixed economy. The existence of private enterprises, because of their greater efficiency, would also be a direct threat to "their" enterprises and to themselves. It is precisely because of competitiveness that the development of the "small" economy, not to mention a mixed economy, is being hindered in many areas.

Because of all this the discussions of a mixed economy remain utopian. The enumerated built-in safety mechanisms against the emergence of a mixed economy make such discussions quite ingenuous.

9909/12859
CSO: 2800/23

GREATER ROLE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN DECISION-MAKING POSTULATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 86 p 1

[Article: "Learning by Doing--The Best Education"]

[Excerpts] More than 60 percent of our population was born after 1945. Their lives are influenced by the actual conditions in which they live; that is, the reality of building a socialist society, with all its achievements and security as well as various shortcomings and inconsistencies which life brings. Unquestionably, the amount of knowledge of our young people is substantially increasing in breadth and depth, but many young people are not capable of using their acquired knowledge to evaluate and deal with situations which accompany the development of our society and the processes which are at work in international relations.

We need to judge our young people without embellishments and without prejudices. How they live, how they think. What their aims are. But also the way we are bringing them up. We must not conceal anything from them. Nothing can be more harmful when working with young people than covering up or distorting the real state of affairs. Nothing can be more dangerous than inconsistency between what we say and what we actually do. Contradictions between proclaimed principles and what actually occurs in everyday life have a particularly detrimental impact on young people who in most cases have an innate sense of justice, honor, and truth.

We know that among our young people there are individuals and groups whose behavior is inconsistent with socialist morality and societal standards. Individuals and groups who behave rudely and violently, who fall under the influence of alcohol or drugs. Today more than half of young males entering basic military service have a drinking habit. These facts are warning signals. For young people as well as for society.

Rightly there are calls for passing a law which would facilitate a more effective way of dealing with such dangerous phenomena. But that in itself would not be enough. We have to learn how to prevent such bad habits from forming.

One method of preventing such "illnesses" is to involve young people as completely as possible in work on behalf of the whole society, in specific tasks of common endeavour.

It is absolutely essential to engage young people fully in accelerating society's economic and socialist development and in mastering the products of science and technology and their future potential. We have to make better use of their interest, zest, and elan. After all, young people up to 30 of age already constitute a full one-third of economically-active citizens. That means that we must create everywhere, with more courage and tolerance, conditions that would lead to their participation. But most of all, we must entrust them with responsible tasks. Only thus will they be able to grow. A proven method of making young people feel that they have a say in the economic management of their own country and that they are personally involved in matters and in implementing our common tasks is to make them take part in the management of public affairs. Whereas in the administration of the government services, national committees, or even the information media young people up to the age of 35 have a share of almost 30 percent, in the active economic sphere only 4-5 percent are in managerial positions. Such cautiousness is definitely out of place.

We want to bring up a strong, healthy, and resolute generation, capable of esthetic and sensitive thinking that knows how to live in a cultured way. We cannot remain indifferent for a moment to the fact that our children's and young people's physical strength is declining, that in their free time they prefer passive entertainment which often is not of a very high level and is sometimes even misused to influence young people, that within their families many children are growing up emotionally impoverished, which affects them for the rest of their lives, etc.

We also cannot be indifferent to the reality that young people who are starting a family and entering the most active phase of their economic life often have to overcome great social hardships. Young people expect that society will take concrete steps to enable them to start their family life in good housing and economic conditions and bring up their children in peace. The joint session of representatives of the Union of Socialist Youth with federal and national governments and organizations of the National Front helped to provide some answers. But can society satisfy in a short time out of its resources all the demands with which young people turn to it? Let us say frankly--no. It cannot. It does not have adequate resources.

The tasks connected with bringing up the young generation concern the whole party, each of its members. But it also concerns indivisibly each and every citizen. Everywhere, in the work place, in schools, and in their places of residence, in their own families. Yes, in families as well. Although schools carry a great responsibility for bringing up young people, the responsibility of the family is extraordinarily great.

Prior to the 17th Congress of the party, almost all regional and district committees of the Czechoslovak Communist Party devoted at least one session to matters affecting young people. In some instances it again became obvious

that although party agencies take up such matters often, they do so only in a formal way. Mostly they evaluate the approach various organizations take toward young people and the activities of the Union of Socialist Youth during the past period. There is less talk about opinions, attitudes, and trends among young people. During organizational proceedings such matters remain marginal.

The Party must very carefully consider what kind of people are working with the young, whether they have political and moral qualifications, and whether they can set an example in any situation. This applies to pedagogues, educators, leaders of pioneer sections and units and various interest groups; it applies to all functionaries of the Union of Socialist Youth and members of its apparatus. This is an extraordinarily important social matter.

The majority of our young people are gifted. Their accomplishments are increasing. They understand what the party is striving for. They welcome the resolutions adopted at congresses and individual sessions of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. That is one thing. Another thing is that they judge very critically how we implement those resolutions in everyday life. The shortcomings which they come up against naturally do not help fill them with enthusiasm. That makes it much more difficult to enlist them in common endeavors.

Today there is no issue in our society which would not concern the young generation. It is essential to keep that in mind when judging each task and the manner of accomplishing it.

And most of all, we must not forget this: how we bring up our young people, how we educate them, how we influence them, that will be the kind of society we have have tomorrow.

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JAZZ SECTION MEMBERS DETAINED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "Under the Guise of 'Jazz Lovers'"]

[Text] Our security services arrested 7 Czechoslovak citizens on charges of felony for engaging in enterprise without license. An investigation of their activities has recently been concluded. Despite numerous warnings by our state security, they had been involved in criminal activity under the guise of the so-called Jazz Section of the Musicians' Association since the beginning of 1985.

In accordance with our laws, an organization entitled Musicians' Association and its "section" were disbanded in 1984. Nevertheless, the 7 above-mentioned citizens continued to use the title "Jazz Section" as a cover for their further "enterprise." In less than 2 years they gained more than Kcs 500,000 from such unlicensed undertakings.

At present certain bourgeois media are trying to impute a different meaning to their criminal activity. For example, the BBC, Voice of America, Reuters and certain other agencies have demonstrated great concern about the felons, alleging that this was an attempt to intimidate music lovers of pop music, especially of jazz, in our country.

That is nonsense and a lie. As known, many friends of modern music who live in our country can express their interest publicly and attend concerts, festivals and other events. After all, this was confirmed by the successful 16th International Jazz Festival which took place in recent days in Prague. It is obvious that the interests of true and unselfish jazz lovers are in no way restricted, nor is there any reason for any restrictions.

In its Thursday edition the British daily GUARDIAN tried to link the arrest of those 7 Czechoslovak citizens with the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which is about to begin in Vienna. It regards it as a "mystery" why Czechoslovak authorities would have decided to take such a step right before the Vienna conference which is supposed to "review compliance with the Helsinki obligations." The British paper alleges that the arrested citizens acted fully in agreement with the Final Act. However, in none of its formulations does the Final Act sanction illegal acts in any of its signatory

states; on the contrary, it fully confirms the right of states to "promulgate their own laws and regulations" and acknowledges that "domestic and foreign affairs within internal jurisdiction of another participating state" must be respected.

All of us--those who are jazz fans and those who are not, who have hobbies or not, whatever our occupation--have a duty to observe our state's laws and ensuing legal regulations. That applies to the 7 arrested citizens. Laws are binding for everybody, in every season, before or after international conferences.

9004/13104
CS0: 2400/51

PAP STATEMENT ATTACKS REAGAN ON IRAN

LD261734 Warsaw PAP in English 1558 GMT 26 Nov 86

[By PAP's Stanislaw Glabinski]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26—Another sensational revelation, sad if not outright depressing, was added to the sensations and emotions in Washington for several days now in jitters over the news of U.S. secret arms shipments to Iran.

It has turned out that Iran's payments for American arms to secret bank accounts were used to finance weapons for Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries.

When the revelation surfaced in Washington, President Reagan declared simply that he had had no knowledge of the covert financial deals. Scapegoats were immediately found.

At least two conclusions can be drawn from Washington's sad sensation. First is that, putting it most politely, Reagan and his aides have departed from the truth.

One can hardly believe that in as centralized a system as the American one, anyone would be able to pass around the top tiers in carrying out a major and extremely delicate operation of financing the contras with tens of millions of dollars--about thirty million in fact.

The other conclusion is that the American foreign policy is being handled by amateurs inclined to rely on methods which are taken from suspense stories and flagrantly defy the law and gravity of the international situation as well as the responsibility of each superpower.

And this is what makes the latest revelation so sad and at the same time so very much upsetting, as one wonders what other ideas of covert moves may have arisen in the minds of admirals and colonels who advise President Reagan.

It is also obvious that the revelations in Washington add glory neither to the United States nor its present administration.

/8309

CSO: 2020/26

JARUZELSKI TOASTS TIES WITH INDIA

LD071002 Warsaw PAP in English 0330 GMT 7 Nov 86

["Toast by Wojciech Jaruzelski--(abridged)"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 6--Poland attaches great importance to relations with India. There is a strong foundation of mutual respect and sympathy between both our nations. We are made closer by similar historic experiences, traditions of long years of struggle for independence, and anti-fascist alliance on the fronts of the Second World War. Poles have a keen interest in the magnificent Indian culture which has contributed so much to human civilization.

The past years have proven that relations between both our countries are not subject to short-term fluctuations, are lasting and can be deemed as model of cooperation between states with different socio-political systems.

My thought often goes back to last year's visit to India, so rich with content and unforgettable impressions, and to cordial hospitality offered to the Polish delegation. We are convinced that President Giani Zail Singh's present stay in our country will become a significant event which will contribute to stronger friendship and further development of cooperation between the Polish People's Republic and the Republic of India.

As a result of the arms race, the world has been balancing on the brink of a catastrophe. We agree that averting the dangerous trends, as well as detente and disarmament and creation of a lasting system of international security, also in the economic sphere--are a task of highest urgency and importance.

It is facilitated by a peace offensive launched by the socialist community. Gradually, a new way of political thinking and responsibility, vitally indispensable in the nuclear era, is making headway. The Reykjavik summit proved that an agreement on the reduction and subsequent elimination of nuclear arsenals is a realistic objective. The far-sighted and bold Soviet proposals offer a historical chance. The international community has a right to expect also the other partner of the dialogue to display more imagination than so far, and advance constructively to meet halfway the vision of a nuclear and space arms free world.

A potential threat to peace resides in local conflicts and flashpoints in different parts of the world. Poland and India have unchangingly stood for settlement of disputed issues by way of dialogue and agreement, along the principles of respect for the sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

We desire that the meeting of the representatives of the CSCE states, just begun in Vienna, should make for taking decisions favouring the lasting sanification of the situation in Europe.

We also follow attentively the course of developments on the Asian Continent, the efforts by the countries of that area in favour of ensuring their durable coexistence in conditions of peace. We lend full support to the proposals made in Vladivostok by Mikhail Gorbachev. They are of weighty importance in the process of shaping conditions of peaceful cooperation and security of states of Asia and the Pacific Ocean area.

The foreign policy pursued by the Republic of India, a state of the world rank, is universally held extremely high. Its consecutive stages were marked by the great names of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi, exerting beneficial influence upon the international atmosphere on a far larger scale than the regional one. In this conviction we lend full support to the initiatives by the six states from the four continents put forth in Delhi and Ixtapa.

Poland attaches now bigger importance than ever to the relations with the developing states. Particular respect and recognition are due to the attainments by the movement of the non-aligned states, of which India was one of the co-founders, still ranking among its leading members.

The countries forming this progressive, in fact, anti-imperialist movement have proven once again during the recent 8th summit meeting in Harare that they constitute an authoritative and meaningful force in the present-day world.

The Polish People's Republic has returned to the road of development. We are realizing the policy of profound economic and socio-political reforms. I would like, at this point, to emphasize how much we do appreciate India's attitude which is full of understanding and support for our policy.

The Polish public hails the social-economic attainments of your country with true recognition and sympathy. We wish you further successes along this road. The consolidation of the strong, united, integrated India, to which the activity of the government of Premier Rajiv Gandhi is so considerably adding, is the essential factor favouring stability on the Asian Continent. It is a considerable contribution to the cause of peace in the world.

India is Poland's most important partner among the developing countries. The result of our relations so far is held high by us. However, there are still numerous possibilities and reserves which are not fully tapped.

We come out in favour of the further deepening and expanding of the Polish-Indian cooperation in all domains, for the benefit of our states and nations, in the name of the grand idea of progress and peace.

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UN ON NUCLEAR SECURITY

LD130002 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 12 Nov 86

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Nov 12--The U.N. General Assembly addressed all states with a request for cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency in the name of increasing nuclear security, technical assistance for developing countries and securing the effectiveness of IAEA's security systems aimed at controlling the use of nuclear materials and equipment.

Taking the floor during a discussion on the draft resolution, which was adopted unanimously, Poland's representative Ambassador Tadeusz Strulak called attention to the fact that the experience stemming from the tragic accident in the Chernobyl nuclear power plant stirred heightened international activity aimed at preventing similar accidents from happening.

The Polish delegate underscored the positive effect of the Vienna conventions on the international climate and pointed to the significant role of the agency in the process of setting up a global system of nuclear security and radiological protection.

He recalled Wojciech Jaruzelski's initiative on the non-constrained flow of technology related to environmental protection advanced at the 40th jubilee session of the U.N. General Assembly.

He also pointed to the need of elaborating international recommendations on increasing the safety of nuclear equipment and the critical levels of the radioactive contamination of foodstuffs and the natural environment.

/8309

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YOUTH MINISTER ON EXCHANGE AGREEMENT WITH GDR

LD270504 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 26 Nov 86

[Text] A Polish delegation led by Aleksander Kwasniewski, member of the Council of Ministers and minister for youth affairs, today ended its several-day stay in the GDR. The guests were here at the invitation of Hans-Ulrich Sattler, member of the Council of Ministers and director of the Office for Youth Affairs. Experiences and results of socialist youth work in both countries were exchanged, and negotiations were held on the continuation of the organized exchange of children and youth between the PPR and the GDR. Bert Kanthack spoke with Minister Kwasniewski:

[begin recording] [Kanthack] Comrade Minister, here you have just signed a long-term government agreement, for the first time, for the exchange of children and youth from PPR and the GDR for the period 1987 to 1990; what do you see as the new quality of this agreement?

[Kwasniewski in Polish with German translation] The first new feature is that we have signed a long-term agreement., We have taken stock of our experiences, regarded them as good, and want to view this exchange as a permanent part of the cooperation, the coexistence between our peoples. We would like to add and produce new forms. We believe that the 300,000 plus that we have agreed to is the optimum, and more would not be sensible in a year. Therefore we must now aim for a higher quality, and it is in this sense that one must see the new forms (?we wish to add): specialist camps for those interested in computers and for your science researchers, language camps, holiday accommodation for young families with children.

[Kanthack] You spoke earlier of an investment in the future, which this child and youth exchange signifies.

[Kwasniewski] If we add up the exchanges on both sides that have been going on for several years, then that makes over 1 million children and young people. If we were to ask a Polish youth today if he had ever been abroad, he would reply, Yes, in the GDR. That means an increased interest in the German language in Poland, a heightened interest in GDR culture.

Our exchange imparts knowledge and information about the neighboring socialist country and its people, makes possible a better understanding of specific problems of the neighboring people, and creates the possibility of using the connection to cultivate personal contacts. That is significant—when they are grown up, when they take on tasks in their professions, in their functions in the economy, in the state apparatus, and in production, when they have to take important decisions, then they will be able to view and decide on the questions of cooperation, with the GDR in particular, responsibly. And so we can certainly consider that we will gain, for the coming decades, ambassadors of friendship of the common cause, because it is individual people who decide whether relations between states, whether cooperation between states and economic cooperation are good or not. [end recording]

/8309

CSO: 2300/90

FRG GREEN ARRESTED AT PACIFIST RALLY

LD162319 Hamburg DPA in German 2223 GMT 16 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Nov (DPA)--The Polish security authorities prevented approximately 50 members of the "Freedom and Peace" movement from taking part in a mass in the southern Polish village of Machowa on Sunday in memory of the Austrian Wehrmacht soldier Otto Schimek who was executed there during World War II for alleged desertion.

The group's spokesman, Jacek Czaputowicz, said that the police in Tarnow had also detained Bundestag Green candidate Dietrich Wetzel and had forced him to leave the town immediately. Wetzel had intended to give a speech at Schimek's grave. He came with a German journalist who was also not allowed to Machowa. Members of the "Freedom and Peace" group were also temporarily arrested and had to leave later.

Czaputowicz said that three members of the group had been maltreated by the police. The members of the group support the right to refuse to do military service. They also aroused attention with a protest action against nuclear energy after the Chernobyl reactor accident.

Schimek, who was executed on 14 November 1944, was murdered, according to the group, because he had refused to shoot Polish citizens. Official Polish accounts say that Schimek was merely a deserter.

/8309

CSO: 2300/90

RAKOWSKI DISCUSSES ECONOMY, SOLIDARITY

LD261454 Warsaw PAP in English 1348 GMT 22 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26—In an interview for PAP, the chairman of the Socio-Economic Council, deputy Sejm (parliament) speaker, Mieczyslaw Rakowski referred to the critical opinion which the council and some other bodies issued about the government draft amendments to laws on the functioning of the economy.

I do not think that the conflict should be viewed on the grounds of winners, losers, he said. This would be an oversimplification of the matter. In the current situation it is close to impossible to propose solutions which could be considered as satisfying all.

In my opinion, the clash of various opinions and reasons which occurred during the presentation of the draft law is an exceptionally important fact from the point of view of the further creative development of socialist democracy. This is a big success of those forces which have spoken out for socialist renewal. I assume that there will be more such clashes in the future and that they will become a routine practice, thus losing the ring of sensation.

In an extremely difficult economic situation and very complicated political situation, the PUWP along with its allies initiated the creation of social institutions and organizations which should become a lasting platform of clashes between various reasons, concepts and stands occurring widely or in particular milieus, and concepts which are formed in economic and political headquarters. What matters, therefore, is a real and not a sham or made-up dialogue, said Rakowski.

In my opinion the activity which was manifested during, among other things, the discussions on the said draft law by those social structures which have in the last five-year period been introduced into our political life, pointedly confirms the correctness of the chosen direction. I think that those who initiated it have reasons to be satisfied, including personal satisfaction. Social activity is a fact which one must take account of, continued Rakowski.

Better or worse organized groups of people surfaced from the storm which passed over Poland in the early 1980's, the groups considering themselves to be the political opposition or pursuing activities which in our view deserved such political classification.

For a score of years now I have heard a view aired by that milieu that any social activity was out of the question if the opposition was not able to act legally in structures which it would create itself. Without denying the right to partake in the overhaul of Poland to anyone who respects the political system principles clearly described in the Constitution of People's Poland, I want to, at the same time, precisely on the margin of the truly controversial discussion which has surfaced around the draft law, to state that the views aired by some opposition activists should be deemed as wishful thinking. The half-rightist, or rightist, or yet another way, the antisocialist opposition in People's Poland has always suffered from a lack of realistic thinking.

Social activity exists and is developing, thus far, without the participation of those people who bestowed upon themselves the rank of the sole reliable representatives of the Polish nation which they indefatigably repeat each day, with a part of the Western press and Polish-language radio stations following suit.

While speaking about active participation in the formation of the economic and social policy of the socialist state, one should add that citizens who differ not only in world outlooks but also in their stands towards many social aspects and the state's economic policy, participate in this process.

Our then discussants from 1981 surely include those who have drawn the right conclusions from the past but also those who still take the same stands which they adopted at the time. Fi, for instance, one of the key advisors of former "Solidarnosc" states today that the authorities are holding on their "strategy of December 13," that is martial law, and that their goal, in his opinion, is still to break up the "people's resistance movement," than one can only show surprise. If the same man, called by one Western journalist "one of Solidarnosc historic leaders," states that "today the most reformatory intentions of the authorities, which lack trustworthiness, remain unanswered in the nation," this means that finding a common language with such people practically impossible, Rakowski said.

/8309

CSO: 2020/26

WFTU PRESIDENT ADDRESSES FACTORY RALLY

LD300255 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 29 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 29—A rally under the motto "Peace and universal disarmament—prerequisites for preserving life on earth and improving the working people's living conditions" was held in the Ursus tractor factory, near Warsaw, today.

Foreign delegations participating in the congress of Polish Reborn Trade Unions were invited to the rally by trade unionists from the Ursus plant. Present were: General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions Ibrahim Zakaria and PUWP CC Political Bureau alternate member, First Secretary of the Warsaw PUMP Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz.

"The Polish working class and trade unionists make a significant contribution to the development of the international trade union movement," stated Zakaria in his address. Referring to the debates of the congress he expressed respect for the Polish trade unionists for their concern with improving the situation of working people in Poland." "We have arrived from countries of various political systems to relay fraternal greetings to Polish trade unionists," he stated, pointing out that the congress had international scope within the struggle of working people for peace and disarmament. "We cannot allow a new catastrophe to occur to which the current U.S. Administration is leading the world," stated Zakaria.

"We must make efforts on behalf of nuclear disarmament, to put to life the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union. The world is today spending millions on arms. This is going on in a situation where millions of people are without work in capitalist countries and people die of hunger in developing countries," Zakaria said.

He also stressed the need for the joint struggle of working people around the world for peace and work, for decent working conditions. He expressed solidarity with the nations of Palestine, Nicaragua, South Africa and with all struggling against imperialism, aggression and apartheid.

In the name of trade unionists and the crew of Ursus the participants in the rally addressed all working people around the world with a peace appeal calling for a halt to the arms race, especially the nuclear one and its prevention from spreading to space. We appeal for common disarmament, the appeal said.

SEJM DEPUTIES PRAISE WORK OF OPOLE DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOJNOSCI in Polish 18-19 Oct 86 pp 1,7

[Article by Janusz B. Grochowski: "Sejm Deputies Visit Opole Region: They Take Part in Session of Voivodship Defense Committee; Meeting With Veterans of Uprisings and Youth"]

[Text] (Own information) The state of political-defense preparations in Opole Voivodship was examined by members of the Sejm's Commission for National Defense during a circuit session in Opole on 17 [October]. The work of the Commission was directed by its chairman Professor Henryk Jablonski.

Participating in the deliberations was Deputy Minister for General Affairs and Vice Minister of National Defense General of Arms Dr Antoni Jasinski.

The Sejm Deputies took part in a session of the Voivodship Defense Committee at which First Secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee Eugeniusz Mroz evaluated the actual sociopolitical situation in the Opole region and discussed the main directions of political-defense preparations. Problems relating to the voivodship's defense preparations and the actual implementation of principal tasks in this respect were also presented by the Chairman of the Voivodship Defense Committee, Voivodship Governor Kazimierz Dzierzan. In the Opole region considerable attention is attached to fostering patriotic attitudes and the defense-mindedness of the inhabitants, especially of the rising generation. The deep and living local traditions of the struggle of the Silesian population for national and social liberation are being utilized. Close contacts also are being maintained with units of the Silesian Military District, and chiefly with 10 Sudeten Armored Division named after Heroes of the Soviet Army.

The civil defense system also is being continually improved while at the same time attempts are made to utilize it as fully as possible to implement the socioeconomic tasks facing Opole Voivodship. The members of the Sejm Commission also familiarized themselves with, inter alia, the operation of the radiotelephone communications network enabling the voivodship organs of state administration to enhance the efficiency of their control.

Wideranging activities are resulting in the proper implementation of defense tasks, as the Deputies found. The decisions of the Voivodship Defense

Committee promote coordinating the socioeconomic development of the voivodship with the requirements ensuing from the need to strengthen defense capability.

Noteworthy is the good cooperation in this respect among sociopolitical organizations and administrative and economic units.

In the course of the discussion, during which the floor was taken by the Deputies Stanislaw Gucwa, Andrzej Wosinski, and Andrzej Trzaskalski, initiatives intended to expand the voivodship's technical infrastructure were commended, but at the same time it was stated that greater aid from the appropriate ministries, and especially the ministries of transportation and communications. will be needed.

Also present at the session were the Chief of the Secretariat of the National Defense Committee Brigade General Leon Sulima and the Chief of Staff of the Silesian Military District Brigade General Edward Rogala.

Next, the Deputies traveled to Lesnica. At the memorial to the Heroic Deed of Insurgents on Mt. St. Anna, they placed flowers, rendering homage to the heroes of the fighting for the Polishness of Opole Silesia. They also met with veterans of Silesian uprisings, World War II veterans, and youth. The exhibition, toured by the members of the Sejm Commission, at the local Museum of the Heroic Deed of the Insurgents served as a good illustration of memories of the years of active resistance of the inhabitants of Opole region against Germanization.

1386

CSO:2600/12⁴

PRESS, PERSONNEL CHANGES, MEDIA DEVELOPMENT AUGUST 1986

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 10, Oct 86 pp 57-59

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Excerpts] 1 Aug

-- Michal Jaranowski was appointed correspondent of ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Bonn.

-- Tadeusz Sochacki was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA.

4 Aug

-- In Poznan, following 3-week trials, a TV studio located in the city's tallest building, the Economics Academy, started operating. The studio is equipped with modern facilities which should markedly improve the reception of Channel 2 of Polish Television not only in Poznan but also in adjacent localities.

10 Aug

-- Zbigniew Ramotowski was recalled from the post of correspondent of ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Bonn.

15 Aug

-- Janusz Mechanisz was recalled from the post of deputy editor-in-chief of MAGAZYN MUZYCZNY-JAZZ.

-- RUCH newsstands in Pomerania and Kujawy began to display for sale the special issue, "Takie Nasze Kochanie" [Such Our Love], a collection of articles by reporters for the Wloclawek weekly KUJAWY. This KUJAWY Supplement is at the same time the first Press publication of the new printing combine in Bydgoszcz where the startup trials of a new rotary offset press are now under way.

27 Aug

-- In Berlin was concluded a cooperation agreement between PAP and ADN for the next 2 years. The document, signed by PAP Chairman Bogdan Jachacz and ADN Director General Guenther Poetschke, covers all aspects of the operation of the two friendly press agencies, and especially the exchange of press services.

Supplement:

In the previous issue the Chronicle of Personnel Changes in July did not include all the decisions. Below we publish supplementary information.

1 Jul

-- Czeslaw Rowinski was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU.

15 Jul

-- Ewa Grinberg was appointed deputy editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK PLOCKI.

-- Alina Leciejewska-Nosal was appointed editor-in-chief of MOTYWY.

Errata: We rectify the erroneous information in No 8, 1986, of PRASA POLSKA:

1 Jul

-- Danuta Duchnowicz-Salicka was appointed editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK OSTROLECKI.

1386

CSO:2600/124

PARTY DAILY NOTES 'INCONSISTENCIES' IN KURON INTERVIEW

LD251500 Warsaw PAP in English 1035 GMT 25 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 25--TRYBUNA LUDU's commentator today analyzes some of Jacek Kuron's latest pronouncements, contained among other things in an interview granted for the French daily LE MATIN, pointing to the obvious inconsistencies in his way of thinking.

The author quotes, for instance, Kuron's calling on the International Monetary Fund to use its powers with an eye to legalizing "Solidarnosc" and at the same time to support workers' self-managements. Likewise, on the issue of new credits Kuron appears to come out "for" but then immediately contradicts this saying that with the current state of the economy they will not be able to bear fruit.

"An injection of credits usually acts as a reviving factor. Does he, therefore, not want such revival? It would be desirable if 'Solidarnosc' were to surface once again, but in this situation it seems he just does not care," writes TRYBUNA LUDU.

"In light of these public confessions one feels sorry for Jacek Kuron. This is because one can imagine how painful it must be to constantly awake from myths which one has created oneself. The constant, burdensome confrontation of wishful thinking with reality," the paper goes on to say.

"Kuron should already notice that his assessments, views and proposals do not correspond to life around us and the current social situation. Just as the self-managements which were created not by him and his friends and which do not want to identify with him in anything. Or the directors at the IMF who have no intention whatever of negotiating with Kuron but with the government," concludes the paper.

/8309

CSO: 2020/26

'REM' ATTACKS FORMER PARTY EDITOR

LD270045 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 26 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 26--Jan Rem writes, among other things:

The series of events in the Christian culture week included an exhibit of Christian culture displayed at the pulpit of the church at 56 St. Mary's Street which took the form of a Krakow-based journalist Maciej Szumowski, once a renowned TV commentator and editor-in-chief of the party daily GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in 1981.

Maciej Szumowski has managed to prove from that rostrum that he has no political qualifications for politics and that he had no moral qualifications required from an editor-in-chief.

To demonstrate his lack of skills in politics of any colour, he confessed to the congregation that he had been surprised by the freeing of political prisoners in 1986, just like he had been surprised by the introduction of martial law in 1981.

The point is that shortly before the latest amnesty the authorities had clearly and publicly given to understand that something of the sort was upcoming and papers also carried strong hints to this effect. The same was the case before martial law.

In both cases it would be enough to read papers and think politically. These two skills are regarded as basic for editor-in-chief of big newspapers. The lost and naive countenance does not suit them even in front of the altar.

And what is former Comrade Szumowski doing at the altar? Well, he is giving a full confirmation to the accuracy of charges he had previously denied. He clarifies the doubts which once existed in Krakow in reference to his role, intentions, persuasions.

Szumowski, of his own free will, confirms from the altar the charges he faced at the time and the complete insincerity of what he was then saying about himself.

/8309

CSO: 2020/26

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MINISTRY HOSTS MEXICAN VISITOR—Mrs. Rosario Green, director of the Institute for Diplomatic Studies "Matias Romero" in Mexico, visited Poland 26 September at the invitation of Professor Janusz Symonides, director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs. During her visit, Mrs. Green was received by Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Kinast. Carlos Gonzales Parrodi, the ambassador of Mexico in Poland, also attended the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Sep 86 p 2] 9761

FINNISH UNIVERSITY EXCHANGE AGREEMENT—The first cooperation agreement between Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and Jyvaskyla University in Finland has been signed. Pursuant to this agreement, valid until 1990, these contacts will involve not only participation in congresses and scientific conferences sponsored by these schools. Joint research work, training of students and young scientists and exchange of experience in cadre development within particular disciplines will be undertaken. Both universities also agreed to exchange publications and scientific materials, and to perform joint activities aimed at updating the instruction process, propagating scientific results and methods of operation of institutes and departments. In addition, the agreement provides for exchanging personnel and students and organizing guest lectures. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27-28 Sep 86 p 2] 9761

PSYCHIATRISTS VIEW DEPENDENCY PROBLEMS—On 28 September, 3-day proceedings of the 35th scientific congress of Polish psychiatrists were adjourned. The current situation and the tasks of psychiatry with regard to dependency problems, alcoholism and drug addiction in a very broad context, were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Sep 86 p 2] 9761

COMPETITIVE, PLURALISTIC IDEAS NEEDED—Excerpts from an article in POLITYKA signed by initials R-W.: "Our presence in the world and securing all benefits from this presence for national culture, economic power, independence and territorial integrity of the state, is a basic interest of our community. This interest circumscribes the confines within which the system can be contested. The first commandment of political thinking is not to harm Polish international relations in the East and the West (...) Political thinking must take into account all conditions of life in our society if it is to serve the society and to uplift it. Society cannot avoid contact with the actually existing system of government. So, how can the relationship between society

and the authorities be made more rational? There are a lot of possibilities between the conviction that the most radical change is possible, and the conviction that nothing can be done. This is what one should attach his hopes to, as well as his actions (...) Therefore, different concepts and ideas should blossom (...) Only the sprouting of varied thoughts and competing ideas can appeal to the part of society which has made being apolitical its program out of frustration with the forms of practicing politics to date, has withdrawn from public life, and is at the moment difficult to get through for both sides. This is the most important problem to be solved by responsible political thinking (...) It will be difficult to govern with diversity, but certainly easier than without it." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4-5 Oct 86 p 8] 9761

FACTORY DIRECTOR BLASTS SELF-MANAGEMENT EFFECTIVENESS--Waldemar Zaprzaluk, director of the Pruszkow Office Materials Enterprise, gave an interview to Slawomir Uscianski published in ODRODZENIE. Excerpts follow: "[Answer] The role of director is the most difficult one. [Question] Why? After all, the reform has granted the managers complete independence. [Answer] You must be joking. I could describe my situation in the following way: instead of binoculars enabling us to look into the future we have been equipped with a microscope; instead of loosening the corset of dependency, we have been tied up by regulations and inspections; instead of setting forth precisely the jurisdiction of trade unions and self-management, all responsibilities were assigned to enterprise management; instead of strict adherence to economic laws, we are still talking about it in the language of "orthodox mammoths" (...) [Question] Is this to say that you are in favor of restricting the role of trade unions and employee self-management? [Answer] Oh no, I want these bodies not only to feel like, but to actually be masters-in-part, to know their jurisdiction and to have a discernable part in the growth of production and company development. At present, this is unsettled (...) [Question] What would you do if you were in charge... [Answer] Firstly, I would do away with the excess of intermediary structures and would purge the so-called [economic] environment of unnecessary balast. Secondly, I would revise all regulations and statistical indicators which are not in compliance with reform mechanisms. Thirdly, I would review the structure and feasibility of control organs. Fourthly, I would establish a legal and economic status for the manager whereby I would feel like a master in my domain." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4-5 Oct 86 p 8] 9761

'POLITICAL' WRITING LACKS QUALITY--Among other things, Jan Pieszchachowicz writes: "Indeed, literature is, or should be unified, however, certainly not in the political, worldview, or even artistic sense but rather culturally. The life, productivity and power of literature hinge both on the absence of breakdowns in the socio-political and professional community arrangements as well as the environment, the role of which cannot be overestimated. Cultural policy, if it is to be successful, should take this into account(...) I am convinced that a situation whereby the natural divergence of opinions is changed into a somewhat mechanical division into "sides" and "camps," does not promote creativity in literature and is a direct influence on its quality. For as long as writers waste effort and emotions in non-literary strife, they will not have enough energy for creating full-blooded and authentic works

(certainly and fortunately, there are exceptions). [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish, 4-5 Oct 86 p 8] 9761

FEW HISTORY TEXT-BOOK AUTHORS NOTED--From the column "Left Margin" printed in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY: "Deputy Minister of Education and Upbringing Janina Wieslawa Krol, stated in an interview to SZTANDAR MLODYCH that 40 scientists were approached by the ministry with an offer to write a current history textbook. Two of them responded. Finally, young people will learn about history from as many as two different sources, both of them being official." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4-5 Oct 86 p 8] 9761

JARUZELSKI, MESSNER ATTEND SEJM SESSION--Warsaw, Nov 25--The Sejm (Polish parliament) has resumed debates, with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner taking part. The deputies started with the first reading of a government draft of tenant's law and Minister Jerzy Bajszczyk spoke on the issue. The agenda today also comprises a report of the Sejm committees on the government draft law on the organization and financing of social insurance, by-election to the constitutional tribunal, and interpellations and questions from deputies. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0850 GMT 25 Nov 86] /8309

PRON DELEGATION VISITS DRA--Kabul, Nov 24--Delegation of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON, headed by deputy chairman of the National Council Jozef Kukulka and chairman of the Polish-Afghan Friendship Society, Jan Czepla, ended today its visit to Afghanistan. They were received, among others, by member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan PDPA S. Ziray and PDPA Political Bureau member Anahita Ratebzaad. The Polish delegation also held talks with members of the government and with activists of the Afghan National Patriotic Front. During their visit, PRON representatives also visited the city of Jalalabad. Jan Czapla and his Afghan counterpart, Minister Ahmad S. Sorhabai signed a protocol of cooperation, between both Societies of Friendship. Jan Czapla also opened a hall of Afghan-Polish friendship. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT 24 Nov 86 LD] /8309

JARUZELSKI, INDIA'S SINGH SPEECHES--President of India Zail Singh arrived in Poland on an official visit today at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski. In the talks, which have begun, the mutual efforts to broaden all-round contacts between both states was stressed. Views were exchanged on a number of international issues. Mutual recognition was expressed for the role played by both states in their regions and in the world. The talks are to continue tomorrow. In the evening, Wojciech Jaruzelski gave a dinner in honor of President Zail Singh at the Palace of the Council of Ministers. The chairman of the Council of State and the president of India made speeches. Wojciech Jaruzelski, characterizing the international situation, stressed that Poland and India favor resolving disputes through dialogue and agreement. He said that our state now attaches greater significance than ever before to relations with the developing countries. President Zail Singh fully supported Poland's efforts toward developing cooperation between East and West. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 6 Nov 86] /8309

UN ENVOY ON FREE FLOW OF INFORMATION--New York, Nov 11--Addressing the U.N. special political committee which discusses information flow, Polish representative Kazimierz Tomaszewski referred to the recent committee meeting by saying that the debate over a new information order, a more just and democratic one, was used by certain states as a pretext to mount new obstacles on the road to materialization of this end. He said that Poland rejected hostile propaganda campaigns and all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other states as running counter to the principles of the United Nations Charter. "Poland has always backed the free flow of information in tune with the international law. Misinformation campaigns aimed against any country are unacceptable in international relations," said the Polish delegate and made a decisive protest against any informative activities which destabilize states. Radio Free Europe programmes are pointed at Poland and they have nothing in common with the cause of peace and security, he told the committee. Tomaszewski recalled that last spring the United Nations and Poland had signed an agreement on opening a U.N. information centre in Warsaw. Poland supports the activities of UNESCO in the field of information and communication, he added. [Text] [By Ludwik Arendt] [Warsaw PAP in English 2216 GMT 11 Nov 86] /8309

PUWP GROUP VISITS FRANCE--Paris, Nov 9--A PUWP CC study group led by deputy head of the Ideological Department Janusz Janicki paid a visit to France between November 2 and 9 at the invitation from the Central Committee of the Parti Communiste Francais (PCF). The aim of the visit was to get acquainted with the PCF activity in working class milieus after the 25th PCF Congress. The delegation was received by Political Bureau member and PCF CC Secretary Maxime Gremetz. The sides discussed the state and prospects of inter-party cooperation. The PUWP CC study group visited the departments of Loire Atlantique and Yvelines where it got acquainted with the activity of French communists and CGT [General Labor Confederation] trade union organizations. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2220 GMT 9 Nov 86 LD] /8309

MESSNER MEETS WITH BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR--Warsaw, Nov 26--Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received here today ambassador to the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Poland Ivan Primov. They discussed problems of bilateral cooperation. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1538 GMT 26 Nov 86] /8309

STOPH RECEIVES YOUTH MINISTER--Berlin, Nov 25--The GDR's Premier Willi Stoph received today the visiting Polish Minister for Youth Problems [as received] Aleksander Kwasniewski. The sides recalled that nearly a million Polish and GDR's youngsters had already paid reciprocal holiday visits to their respective countries under the initiative forwarded in 1983 by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Erich Honecker on holiday youth exchange. Stoph and Kwasniewski stressed that the exchange significantly contributed to the deepening of friendship and education of young generations in the spirit of peace and socialism. Aleksander Kwasniewski, who is paying a working visit to the GDR, met also with head of the government's Office for Youth Hans Satler to discuss organization of summer holidays for children and youngsters of the two countries till 1990. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2134 GMT 25 Nov 86] /8309

TALKS WITH U.S. ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS--Warsaw, Nov 21--Leader of the U.S. delegation for the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, Ambassador Robert Blackwill, has visited Warsaw today. Blackwill talked with director of the Foreign Ministry's Department for Studies and Programming Slawomir Dabrowa about disarmament topics. He was also received by vice-minister of foreign affairs Jan Kinast. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT 21 Nov 86] /8309

TRADE UNION FORUM--Warsaw, Nov 26--Some fifty foreign delegations representing over 200 million trade unionists worldwide, are expected to attend the forum of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, OPZZ. Representatives of trade unions and federations' councils have been arriving in Warsaw for a few days now. Today, Warsaw welcomed a delegation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) with its President Sandor Gaspar and General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria. Other delegations that have come to Poland today include: a delegation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR with its president, Stepan Shalayev, of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions of the GDR, of the Central Council of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement of Czechoslovakia, of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, and delegations of trade union councils from Austria, Ireland and Nigeria, among others. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2206 GMT 26 Nov 86] /8309

MESSNER MEETS MOVEMENT LEADERS--Warsaw, Nov 30--Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner met with newly elected leaders of the trade union movement today following the closing of trade union congress. The meeting was attended by foreign delegations invited to the congress and deputy president of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1823 GMT 30 Nov 86] /8309

MESSNER MESSAGE TO SFRY'S MIKULIC--Warsaw, Nov 28--To mark the national day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, falling today, chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner sent a congratulatory cable to President of Federal Executive Council Branko Mikulic. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 28 Nov 86] /8309

GREETINGS TO PLO--Warsaw, Nov 28--To mark the day of solidarity with the Palestine nation celebrated under the auspices of the UN, due on November 29, president of the Council of State Wojciech, chairman of the PLO's Executive Committee. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2113 GMT 28 Nov 86] /8309

ALBANIAN NATIONAL DAY--Warsaw, Nov 28--President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski sent a cable with best greetings and wishes of new successes in implementing the ambitious programme of socialist building to President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Ramiz Alia and the befriended [as received] Albanian people to mark the national day of Albania, the 42d anniversary of the liberation of that country and the victory of people's revolution. Jaruzelski voiced conviction that relations between Poland and Albania would consolidate and develop to the benefit of the peoples of both states. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0747 GMT 29 Nov 86] /8309

SFRY LEADERS GREETED ON NATIONAL DAY--Warsaw, Nov 28--PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski has sent a cable to President of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Milanko Renovica on the occasion of the national day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On behalf of the PUWP and his own behalf, Wojciech Jaruzelski conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes of further comprehensive cordial greetings and best wishes of further comprehensive progress and rise in Yugoslavia to the LCY Presidium and CC, all Communists, working people. "I am deeply convinced that the traditional friendship and cooperation between our parties, states, and nations will continue to develop and consolidate to the benefit of Poland and Yugoslavia, for the cause of progress, socialism, and peace," the cable read. As the president of the Council of State, Wojciech Jaruzelski has also sent a congratulatory cable to President of the collective Presidency of Yugoslavia Sinan Hasani. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT 28 Nov 86] /8309

UN POLISH STAND ON MIDEAST--New York, Nov 28--Poland expressed support for a comprehensive, peaceful and just solution to the Middle East situation. Speaking in the U.N. General Assembly debate, Poland's permanent representative to the U.N. Ambassador Eugeniusz Noworyta shared the view of the U.N. secretary general that a comprehensive settlement of the conflict should be based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab land occupied since 1967, recognition of and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and political independence of all states in the region and their right to live in peace, and also on the recognition of just rights of the Palestine people, including the right to self-determination and its own state. The Polish representative has also shared those opinions which say that the way to a just solution of Mideast problems leads through an international conference under the auspices of the U.N. held with the participation of all parties involved. Ambassador Noworyta said that Poland supported the fight of the Palestine people and the only legitimate representative of that people, the Palestine Liberation Organization. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2136 GMT 28 Nov 86] /8309

AFGHAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED--Warsaw, Nov 3--Vice President of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski received here today ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to Poland Abdul Qader who presented his credentials. After the ceremony, the ambassador was received by the vice president of the Council of State at a private audience. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2208 GMT 4 Nov 86 LD] /8309

AMBASSADOR TO NIGER RECEIVED--Lagos, [dateline as received] Nov 3--Ambassador of the Polish People's Republic Mieczyslaw Cielecki presented his credentials to President of the Republic of the Niger Major-General Seyni Kountche. The president expressed his appreciation for Poland's international activities aimed at defending peace and conveyed his greetings to President of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski and to the Polish People. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 0021 GMT 3 Nov 86 LD] /8309

GLEMP CONFERS WITH POPE--(ANSA) Vatican, November 5--The primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, was received by Pope John Paul in a private audience in the Vatican Wednesday. Glemp, who is also the archbishop of Warsaw, arrived

in Rome a few days ago with Polish Cardinals Henruk Roman Gulbinowicz, the archbishop of Wroclaw and Franciszek Macharski. Among the topics reportedly up for discussion were plans for a third papal trip to Poland to take place in June of next year. [Text] [Rome ANSA in English 0809 GMT 6 Nov 86] /8309

ORZECZOWSKI RECEIVES PAPAL NUNCIO--Warsaw, Nov 24--Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski received here today Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, papal nuncio for special assignments and held a talk with him. Archbishop Colasuonno conveyed to Minister Orzechowski a letter from secretary of state of the Apostolic See, Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, which accredits Archbishop Colasuonno as head of a team of the Holy See for permanent working contacts with the Polish Government. During the talks, sides discussed issues of common interest from the international field and bilateral relations. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1855 GMT 24 Nov 86 LD] /8309

MESSNER TALKS WITH ARCHBISHOP--Warsaw, Dec 1--Poland's Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner received today archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, head of the group for permanent working contacts with the Polish Government and Papal Nuncio for special assignments. The prime minister told Archbishop Colasuonno about the developments in Poland and the government's activity in favour of solving social and economic problems. A number of issues, including those pertaining to the state-church relations, were touched upon. Present was Minister Adam Lopatka, head of the office for religious affairs. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1501 GMT 1 Dec 86] /8309

CSO: 2020/29

U.S. ELECTORAL RESULTS COULD BRING 'DIFFICULT OPTIONS'

AU121308 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Nov 86 p 6

[Nicolae Lupu article: "The Significance of the U.S. Election Results"]

[Text] The U.S. legislative election results mark a victory of the opposition Democratic Party, a victory that has materialized by its gaining the majority in the Senate, where it used to be in the minority, and the maintenance and consolidation of the majority it had in the House of Representatives. On the other hand, the ruling Republican Party recorded victories in the gubernatorial elections, thus winning over several states from the Democrats. What are the implications of these results?

From the point of view of the Republican administration it will be facing an opposition majority in both houses for the first time since Reagan's successive victories, something that could have a considerable effect on the administration's decisions and authority, all the more so since, as of this moment, the fight for the next presidential election is in the open. Both parties will be coming up with new candidates for these elections.

From the point of view of American public opinion, it is obvious that in spite of the President's own favorable position in the polls--and he engaged all his authority in order to channel the options of voters throughout the country in favor of the Republican candidates--local interests prevailed and brought a win for the Democratic candidates. As the UPI political commentator notes, the great effort made by the Republicans to raise such issues as the administration's policy regarding the militarization of the outer space and the attitude to arms control had a weaker influence "on some voters who were more interested in the issues of purifying water in Colorado, deposits of radioactive waste in Washington, the agricultural situation in Dakota, and oil prices in Louisiana."

But, regardless of the voters' concerns, the results will not fail to have an effect on the international policy and the economy of the United States--as noted by the AFP commentator.

Dominating the legislative bodies, the Democratic opposition will soon raise new obstacles in the path of the "Star Wars" program and of supporting an intervention in Nicaragua and it will contribute to promoting a new attitude to the observance of the SALT II agreement, increasing pressure against the

South African racist policy, and making new efforts for arms control and reducing military budgets--notes the same commentator.

At the same time, it is noted that the winning of the majority in the Senate by the Democrats was the result of the victory of some conservative candidates over some liberal Republicans. It is not yet clear, therefore, whether in all the above-mentioned cases--taking into consideration the President's right of veto--the Democratic opposition will try to act consistently and with practical and not only symbolical effect. Exactly such a situation made the AFP commentator state that "no great changes are to be expected."

A more important element in this respect is undoubtedly the sensitivity of public opinion and the direction of the shift in positions among its ranks. Because, the approaching presidential election campaign will bring the true national issues to the forefront. In this case, the development of foreign and economic policy will test the position of the new candidates, who will have to come up with programs of their own of broad interest. Not even the Republican candidate will be able to take exclusive advantage of what the current administration has achieved. A West European commentator noted that if the economic experts' forecasts on a slump in the rate of economic development in the next two years is realized, "the Democrats in the Congress and the White House representatives will face difficult options in adopting positions."

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CSO: 2020/30

'COMMUNIQUE' ON MPR PREMIER'S 'WORKING VISIT'

AU121222 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Nov 86 p 5

["Press Communique on the Working Visit Paid To Romania by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic," Dumaagiyn Sodnom on 5-6 November, issued in Bucharest on 6 November]

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, Comrade Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], paid a working visit to the SR of Romania 5-6 November 1986.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR and the people who accompanied him visited economic targets and sociocultural establishments in Bucharest.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, received Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers. On this occasion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the MPR People's Great Hural, cordially exchanged messages.

The prime minister of the SR of Romania and the chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers held talks which took place in a warm, comradely atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding--an expression of the positive relations between our countries and of the sentiments of mutual esteem and respect harbored by the Romanian and Mongolian peoples. The two prime ministers briefed each other about the way in which the 13th RCP Congress decisions and those of the 19th MPRP Congress are being implemented, examined the stage of bilateral relations, and exchanged views about current international issues.

The two sides stressed with satisfaction that the relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity between the SR of Romania and the MPR are developing and intensifying in all areas on the basis of the principles included in the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the SR of Romania and the MPR of 1983.

The conviction was expressed that the socioeconomic development of the two countries ensures favorable conditions to further expand Romanian-Mongolian

relations and to considerably increase trade and expand economic cooperation between Romania and Mongolia. It was agreed that the relevant bodies in the two countries should identify fresh opportunities to increase the volume of mutual goods deliveries in excess of the long-term trade agreement for 1986-90 and should adopt tangible measures aimed at developing economic cooperation in areas of common interest.

During the visit, the two sides signed a long-term program for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the SR of Romania and the MPR up to the year 2000. It was assessed that this important document ensures a lasting basis for further developing relations and economic cooperation between the two countries.

It was stressed that an active role in developing economic, industrial, and technical cooperation, in constantly increasing trade exchanges, and in diversifying the structure of these exchanges is to be played by the Romanian-Mongolian Intergovernment Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation.

The two prime ministers stressed the need to make sustained efforts to implement the decisions of the summit economic meeting of the CEMA member-states of 1984 and the comprehensive program for the scientific-technical progress of those countries up to the year 2000. At the same time, the decisions of the 42d CEMA session in Bucharest were positively assessed, a session which established tangible measures aimed at intensifying cooperation among the member-countries and at perfecting CEMA activity.

In connection with the development of international issues, the two sides stressed that the situation in the world continues to be complex and tense as a result of the actions by certain imperialist circles which are interested in the continuation of the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, in extending it to outer space, and in the continuation of nuclear testing. This requires all countries and peoples to intensify their efforts and to take firm action to halt the dangerous trend of events toward confrontation, the arms race, and to proceed to disarmament and a cutback in military expenditure to ensure peace, detente, and security.

The sides emphasized that it is necessary to continue to strengthen the unity and solidarity among the socialist countries and among all progressive and peace-loving forces against the imperialist policy of the use and threat of force and of interference in the domestic affairs of other states.

The two sides expressed their firm support for any measures aimed at achieving realistic and tangible accords to halt the nuclear and conventional arms race and to actually proceed to disarmament. They stressed that everything must be done so that the accords that were reached during the Soviet-American summit in Iceland are finalized.

The two prime ministers advocated the solution of disputes between states by negotiations and by uniting the efforts of all states to overcome conflicts and crises and to strengthen peace and stability in various parts of the world.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the talks they conducted. They stressed that the visit paid by the chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers to the SR of Romania and the long-term program for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the SR of Romania and the MPR up to the year 2000, signed on this occasion, are of great importance for further developing and strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the MPR expressed sincere thanks for the warm reception and hospitality he enjoyed during his visit to Romania and extended an invitation to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the SR of Romania, to pay an official visit to the MPR. The invitation was accepted with pleasure: the date of the visit will be agreed upon later through diplomatic channels.

Bucharest, 6 November 1986.

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CS0: 2020/30

LUMEA ON ISRAELI-PLO MEETING IN COSTINESTI

AU141923 Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 46,13 Nov 86 p 7

[Craciun Ionescu article: "Costinesti Meeting Between the PLO and the Delegation of the Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue Committee"]

[Text] Last week the tourist resort on the Black Sea shore, Costinesti, which usually hosts various international meetings, hosted a meeting between a PLO delegation and a delegation of the Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue Committee. The Palestinian delegation, led by 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Yahya, member of the PLO Executive Committee, and the Israeli delegation, whose spokesman was Latif Dori, incorporated writers, artists, lawyers, educational cadres, journalists, and other Palestinian and Israeli men of culture, as well as militants for peace and understanding between the two peoples.

As was stressed by both sides in their speeches, the meeting between the above mentioned delegations aimed at contributing to the search, by means of a dialogue, for solutions designed to bring about an atmosphere of peace and peaceful coexistence among the people in the M' st area.

A statement made by the Palestinians to international press representatives present in Costinesti specifies that: "In conformity with the decisions of the Palestinian National Council adopted in numerous sessions in connection with a positive dialogue with democratic Jewish forces which recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and their inalienable national rights and which believe in the struggle for a just and lasting peace based on the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state, a meeting was held in Romania with the participation of some figures and activists for peace from Israel and of Palestinian leaders and cadres." In conclusion, the statement stresses that the meeting "was an incontestable success and a vigorous assertion of the policy of negotiations, of searching for solutions by means of a dialogue, and an assertion of direct contact and mutual respect. In this sense, many participants favored the idea of organizing an international conference on Middle East issues with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO and Israel."

During the meeting, the participants expressed satisfaction with the fact that Romania was chosen as the place for this meeting, a country that is known for its dynamic foreign policy placed in the service of peace, disarmament,

understanding, and international cooperation and in the service of resolving conflicts and all disputes between countries solely through political means and negotiations. The participants in the Costinesti meeting highly valued Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's constructive initiatives and actions aimed mainly and consistently at a global solution of the Middle East situation and at achieving a just and lasting peace in that area that will ensure the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the creation of their own independent state and the independence and sovereignty of all states in that area, including Israel. They also stressed Romania's constant support in order to convene an international conference under UN aegis with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

As is known, our country believes that in preparing the international conference regarding the solution of the Middle East conflict and the establishment of a lasting peace, one could bear in mind a dialogue between the countries concerned to reach an appropriate accord in connection with organizing the conference and with its objectives. Such contacts during the preparations for the international conference could be organized under the aegis of the Security Council or of UN representatives. Proceeding from the fact that disputes can be settled solely by negotiations, it logically follows that, in order to prepare such an international conference, a preliminary dialogue would be necessary--also within this framework--between the PLO and Israel under UN aegis. To achieve peace and understanding, fear of meetings and discussions, irrespective of the initial positions of the sides involved in the dispute, should vanish. The method of dialogue has always been, and continues to be, the only way to yield positive results and bring about understanding and peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples. And undoubtedly, such a way of looking at things is all the more viable and necessary in the approach to and the solution of the problems of the Middle East, which for several decades now has been shaken by bloody confrontations which have filled many families with grief and which have caused great material damage and brought instability to the lives of broad masses of people.

Expressing these requirements, the Costinesti meeting between the PLO delegation and the delegation of the Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue Committee, which took place in an atmosphere of understanding and mutual esteem, fully proved its virtues of facilitating a bridge for a possibly more extensive dialogue characterized by direct effectiveness in the context of a global process of peace designed to definitively put a halt to the Middle East conflict and to bring about the establishment of relations of understanding and cooperation among all peoples and countries in that part of the world.

As both sides stressed in their speeches during the meeting, in private discussions, or in statements made to the press, the Costinesti meeting must be valued primarily for the fact that it has taken place. This meeting has "proved that a dialogue can be held, despite any difficulties and preconceived ideas and despite the pressure and threats by some forces with a hostile attitude toward the achievement of peace," the Palestinian statement to international press representatives stresses. "The essential thing is that we

have started a dialogue," Latif Dori, spokesman of the Israeli participants in the meeting, said to an AFP correspondent at Lod Airport on returning home. "Everything that brings us closer to peace is important, even if it is only a first step," he said. He also expressed the desire that the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue begun in Costinesti be continued.

Last week's Palestinian-Israeli meeting which was pursued with interest by an important number of foreign press representatives and by recording teams of large television companies, has demonstrated once again the possibility and importance of dialogue and the need for all sides to adopt political means and negotiations to resolve disputes, to overcome mistrust and animosities, and to establish normal relations between peoples and states in the interest of peace and cooperation at both a regional and the world levels.

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CSO: 2020/30

SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MARKED

AU282146 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2008 GMT 28 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28 November 86--The international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people was marked in Bucharest on 28 November through a meeting attended by party and state activists, executives of ministries, mass and public organizations, and heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania.

Pointing to the significance of the event Nicolae Calinoiu, member of the Executive Bureau of the SDUF [Socialist Democracy and Unity Front] National Council, expressed the Romanian people's feelings of friendship and solidarity with the just fight of the Palestinian people for the achievement of its legitimate rights, its right to self-determination and creation of an independent state of its own included.

Relations of close friendship and active solidarity have been established over the years between the RCP and the PLO, between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people, to which a direct contribution was made by the numerous interviews between President Nicolae Ceausescu and the chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Yasir 'Arafat. Romania has permanently given moral, political and diplomatic support to the Palestinian people's just cause both within contacts with other states and at the U.N. and in other international bodies.

Mentioning that Romania has firmly declared for the restoration and consolidation of the PLO's unity and organizational force as well as for the development of collaboration among Arab countries as an essential condition for the settlement of the Middle East situation, the speaker stressed that the fight for the creation of an independent Palestinian state could and should be the centerpiece of the achievement of the Arab countries' unity. Reiterating Romania's well-known stance on a peaceful resolution of the Middle East problems, he showed that the RCP and the Romanian state were determined to act for the further consolidation of the ties of close friendship and solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization and with the Palestinian people.

The meeting was also addressed by Ibrahim Tamin [name as received], permanent deputy representative of the PLO to Bucharest, who warmly thanked Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu for the support and solidarity shown for the Palestinian people's just cause.

SCINTEIA MARKS SOLIDARITY WITH PALESTINIANS

AU291815 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1118 GMT 29 Nov 86

["Solidarity with the Palestinian People's Just Cause"--AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 29 November 86--Almost ten years ago, the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people was set up to draw world attention to the grave situation in the Middle East where actions are required for a global, just and durable settlement also including the Palestinian issue, SCINTEIA points out in its 29 November commentary marking this day.

The Romanian people--the daily shows--has expressed its feelings of militant solidarity with the Palestinian people, its legitimate aspirations at self-determination, independent statehood. Socialist Romania was one of the first states to have recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization and to have established relations with this organization, through the agency of a Bucharest PLO office. Romania also states for the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the PLO, for a durable settlement in the Middle East to help the Palestinian people fulfill its aspirations.

Romania advocates an international conference supervised by the United Nations Organization to solve Mideast issues, attended by all states concerned, the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel included. SCINTEIA shows that a preparatory committee to be attended by the PLO and Israel alike would be a highly important step along this line.

The RCP and Romanian state speak up firmly for a political solution in the Middle East to also settle the Palestinian issue.

On the international day of solidarity with the Palestinian people, the Romanian people once again expresses its warm friendship for the Palestinian people, the resolve to further support them in the struggle for the assertion of their inalienable rights, the commentary winds up.

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CSO: 2020/30

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CZECH FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK

AU281526 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1457 GMT 28 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28 November 86--Friday, 28 November, the RCP general secretary and Romania's President, Nicolae Ceausescu, received Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic now in Romania for an official visit of friendship.

During the interview stress was laid on the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, as well as on the decisive role the meetings and understandings at top level have played in the many sided growth of those fine relations. The wish was also expressed to further expand the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration on a political, economic, technical-scientific plane and in other areas of joint interest, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the general cause of socialism and world peace. Starting from Romania's and Czechoslovakia's steadily growing economic potential, emphasis was placed on the need to further work for the development of economic collaboration, the stepping up of cooperation in production and production specialization, for the expansion and diversification of commercial exchanges.

Aspects of the present-day international life were also approached.

President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored that the cardinal issue of our time was the cessation of the arms race and a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament first and foremost, that action should be taken in all firmness for an end to the deployment of further missiles in Europe and for the withdrawal of the ones in place, for the elimination of all nuclear weapons and a substantial reduction of conventional arms, for real steps towards building a climate of peace and security, of understanding and collaboration on the continent and worldwide. It was outlined that, given mankind's complex situation, all the peoples, the democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere should firmly work, with a sense of responsibility, to check the dangerous course of events and to resume and consolidate the policy of detente, understanding and international collaboration.

The resolve of Romania and Czechoslovakia was expressed to boost their cooperation in the international arena, to make an active contribution, alongside the other socialist countries, and all the states of the world, to the resolution of the complex contemporary problems, in the interest of all states, of the cause of world security and peace. The interview was attended by Ioan Totu, Romanian foreign minister.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES UK CP LEADER MCLENNAN

AU252025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 25 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 25 November 86--RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu met on Tuesday, 25 November, with Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

Gordon McLennan gave thanks for having been given the opportunity to visit Romania, to get acquainted with the Romanian people's achievements in the building of the new society, and expressed his satisfaction at meeting again and exchanging views with the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party on questions related to the ties between the RCP and Communist Party of Great Britain, on the latest international political developments as well as on questions of the international communist and working-class movement.

During the interview information was exchanged on the activity and current preoccupations of the two parties, with emphasis on the good relations between them. It was assessed that their continuous expansion contributed to the development of friendly cooperation between the Romanian and British peoples, between the two countries, served the cause of peace, detente and collaboration in Europe and the world over.

Approaching aspects of the current world political situation, Nicolae Ceausescu and Gordon McLennan referred to the dangers posed to peace following especially the arms race, the nuclear one first and foremost. It was assessed that in the current complex and serious international situation all the countries and peoples, the communist and workers' parties, the revolutionary and progressive forces everywhere, public opinion should intensify their efforts to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, to solve all the states of tension and conflict by political means, through negotiations, to resume and consolidate the policy of detente, peace and understanding among nations.

The fact was underlined that an important role in the recovery of the world political climate is played by the European states which must take more active actions, in close unity, to bring about a new course in the settlement of the complex problems of our days.

In that framework, Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the need that specific measures be taken to stop the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe, for

the withdrawal of the ones in place, the elimination of all nuclear weapons and the substantial reduction of conventional arms.

Gordon McLennan appreciated in the context the importance of Nicolae Ceausescu's demarches and actions for peace and disarmament, especially the recent decision to cut arms, troops and military expenditure by 5 percent till the end of this year, which tellingly proves Romania's firm will to back the policy of peace and disarmament through concrete measures.

Stressing that Romania firmly supports any action toward real successes on the path of detente, security and consolidation of peace in the world, Nicolae Ceausescu pointed to the need that everything possible be done so that the understandings reached at the Soviet-American summit in Iceland be finalized and corresponding agreements be concluded on the elimination of nuclear missiles from Europe and on the other problems related to disarmament.

During the talk the necessity was underscored to continuously strengthen the might and unity of the international communist and working-class movement on the basis of respect for each party's right to self-reliantly work out its political line, its revolutionary strategy and tactics, in keeping with the specific conditions in every country and without any outside interference. Stress was also laid on the importance of developing and strengthening collaboration between the communist, worker, socialist, social democratic parties, among all the progressive and anti-imperialist forces in the fight for peace, freedom and detente in international relations, for the constructive settlement of the major issues facing our epoch.

The interview was attended by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP: Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Also present was Jack Ashton, member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

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CSO: 2020/30

NICU CEAUSESCU MEETS ZIMBABWE MINISTER

AU021951 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1834 GMT 2 Dec 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 2 December 86--A delegation headed by David Karimanzira, minister of youth, sports and culture of the Republic of Zimbabwe, paid a visit to Romania, at the invitation of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY].

The delegation had an interview with Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, minister for youth affairs, during which stress was laid on the relations of many sided cooperation linking the youth in the two countries in the spirit of their traditional relations of friendship and solidarity. Emphasis was placed on the mutual wish to work in future too to expand and diversify these relations as a contribution to the cause of international peace, understanding and cooperation.

Ion Stolan, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received the Zimbabwean delegation.

Emphasis was placed on the important role of the youth of various political, philosophic and ideologic orientations in the struggle of peoples, progressive and democratic forces for the elimination of the danger of a nuclear war, the safeguarding and consolidation of peace, for national freedom and independence, the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, for the building of a better and more just world.

The delegation also held talks at the Council of Socialist Culture and Education and at the National Council for Physical Education and Sports.

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CSO: 2020/30

CEAUSESCU SPEECH TO PACT MILITARY COUNCIL

AU252231 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Nov 86 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and supreme commander of the Armed Forces of the SR of Romania, at a meeting with members of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Member-Countries, on 14 November in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades:

First of all, I would like to extend most cordial greetings to all the members of the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries and to express my thanks for the wishes you extended to me.

As I have learned, you carried out a very intensive activity and discussed a great number of issues. I would like to express my satisfaction with the fact that you placed in the center of your discussions the decisions adopted by the leaders of the socialist member-countries of the Warsaw Pact on the policy of disarmament and peace and the necessary measures to improve the combat and political training and the equipment of our armies in order to be able to fulfill--if necessary--their highly responsible tasks of defending the revolutionary achievements of socialism and our peoples' independence.

As is well known, at the recent meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, important decisions were adopted on the need to achieve nuclear disarmament and eliminate completely nuclear weapons in accordance with the program up to the year 2000 proposed by the Soviet Union and a special program on a 25 percent cutback of conventional weapons by the year 1990--as a first stage in further implementing the cutback of arms, troops, and military expenditures.

Life and the international situation have proved the correctness of the decisions adopted by the Warsaw Pact member-countries and the fact that these decisions are fully in keeping with the interests of our peoples and with the general interests of cooperation and peace throughout the world. These decisions had and continue to have great influence on the international situation and make a contribution to increasing the struggle waged by the progressive and realist forces everywhere for disarmament and peace.

The October Iceland meeting between the CPSU general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, and President Reagan was held in the same spirit. The proposals set forward by the Soviet Union at that meeting on a 50 percent cutback of strategic nuclear weapons and on the complete elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe are very important for the achievement of the general objective of eliminating completely all nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

We welcomed these proposals and we firmly support them. We discussed this issue at the recent Moscow meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries of the CEMA socialist member-countries. We reached the conclusion that this is a new approach by the Soviet Union to the nuclear weapons issue, taking into consideration the general conclusion reached, that no one can win a nuclear war and that it would endanger life itself on our planet. Also from this conclusion emerges the need to work for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

In this respect, the proposals presented by Comrade Gorbachev at the Iceland meeting are indeed highly important, and aside from the fact that no immediate agreement on these issues was reached, this continues to be the central goal on which we must concentrate our efforts in the next period.

With great emphasis we hold that it would be very important if a general agreement on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe were reached. The Soviet Union and the United States have nearly identical viewpoints on them. Concluding an agreement and starting the elimination of these weapons--even apart from the general package--would be highly significant for the fulfillment of the program on reducing nuclear weapons and achieving conventional disarmament in general.

We attach great significance to the decisions we adopted in Budapest in the Program-Appeal on a 25 percent cutback of conventional weapons. The Program-Appeal shows our countries' will to actually pass to concrete actions also in the field of conventional weapons, to reduce weapons and achieve and maintain a balance of forces of the lowest level possible.

It is true that the NATO countries have not answered this Program-Appeal yet. Nevertheless, it was received with great interest, and the European countries, including the NATO countries, had to admit that the Warsaw Pact member-countries had indeed advanced concrete and real proposals which prove that they wish that appropriate agreements on disarmament and on a cutback of military expenditures be reached and an end be put to the arms race.

In this respect we agreed to call on the NATO countries to start discussing these issues. Perhaps our bodies operating in the Warsaw Pact--either political or military--should establish direct contacts with NATO leading bodies to discuss and pass to the implementation of these goals and proposals. In order to achieve these measure, these two military groups and the countries belonging to these military groups must definitely establish contact, discuss the problems, and make a contribution to finding acceptable solutions for both sides.

We are also of the opinion that we should by all means see to it that a balance of forces is maintained. But we must do it--as we have stated in our documents in recent years, including the ones adopted in Budapest--by maintaining a balance of military forces at the lowest possible level. This will not endanger in any way the security of our countries', on the contrary, it will contribute to the strengthening of their security. As a matter of fact, the quicker we eliminate nuclear weapons, starting with those in Europe, and the more we reduce arms, the more we reduce the danger of conflicts, of a nuclear war, and even the danger of conflicts and a war with conventional weapons.

It is in the interest of our peoples to do all we can for peace. The congresses of all the parties of the Warsaw Pact member-countries placed the struggle for disarmament and peace in the center of their international policy; therefore, we should resolutely act in this direction. The more so, since at the recent Moscow meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries--actually of the CEMA member countries but with the participation of all the Warsaw Pact member-countries--we stressed in full unanimity that we should do everything in order to ensure the fulfillment of the programs regarding socioeconomic development, socialist construction, and raising our people's material and cultural standard of living. We reached the joint conclusion that achieving the goals of socioeconomic development based on the latest scientific and technical knowledge, is also a major and essential factor in strengthening the power and defense capability of our countries.

I think there is no need to stress again that achieving socialist development and raising the people's well-being will strengthen the cohesion and unity of every nation and of all socialist countries together; thus it will represent the decisive factor in defending our countries in the struggle against imperialism.

We also unanimously agreed that the great military expenditures had and continue to have a negative influence on socioeconomic development because they take away important means from economic, social, scientific, and cultural development and use them for military purposes. Therefore, the issues of disarmament and of reducing expenditures are part and parcel of the policy set forth by the congresses of our parties regarding socialist development and the implementation of the strategic goal of building the comprehensively developed socialist society--as we call it in Romania--or developed socialist society--as it is called in other countries--making possible the passage to building the communist society.

If I understood well, the military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries discussed all these issues in the spirit of the decision adopted by the congress of our parties and by the Political Consultative Committee. I welcome the fact that the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries discussed the ways and means to contribute to the implementation of jointly adopted decisions.

We, as you well know, decided to proceed unilaterally--in accordance with what we discussed in Budapest and with the Program-Appeal on a 25 percent cutback of arms and military expenditures--to a 5 percent cutback, as of this year, of

arms, troops, and military expenditures. On Sunday 23 November, we will consult with all our people on these measures, within the framework of a referendum. Moreover, we decided to consult separately with the young people between 14 and 18 years of age, who are not entitled to vote but taking into consideration the importance of the issue and the fact that youth is directly interested in the policy of disarmament and peace, we call upon them to express their opinion on these measures.

I think that these decisions taken by us will be approved by the entire nation and by all our youth. These decisions are in accordance with our jointly established policy to pass from general discussions to real disarmament measures.

Since we are here with the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries, I want to put these things frankly; we have analyzed the question whether, through this reduction, we do not affect in some ways our Army's combat capability and Romania's contribution to fulfilling the obligations it has within the Warsaw Pact. We reached the conclusion that we do not! We do not affect in any way Romania's combat capability of fulfilling the obligations we have within the Warsaw Pact. I said at the recent Moscow meeting--and I want to repeat it now--that we would welcome it and we expect the other Warsaw Pact member-countries to proceed, at a convenient time, to a 5 percent, or even to a 1 percent higher, similar reduction, within the general program of a 25 percent cutback we decided upon in Budapest.

These measures of ours have been received by public opinion, especially in Europe, with keen interest and they have made a strong impact. We have received numerous replies from heads of state and government, and from various political figures. Some people have stated that they are also thinking of proceeding to such measures, which they deem necessary in the current international situation.

There is not danger that the military people who will be relieved of their offices--their number is not great--will be without jobs. Socioeconomic development programs are very comprehensive, and we need them in the production process. For some of the military equipment such as tanks, for instance, we have found a use in the economy and even in the Army. In the current 5-Year Plan, our Army is duty bound to carry out irrigation operations on 1.5 million hectares of land and part of its tanks--certainly equipped with the necessary machinery--will be involved in irrigation and land improvement work. I have been informed by the Defense Ministry that very positive results are being achieved. I know that all countries have to fulfill a great number of programs for their socioeconomic development and if troops and technical equipment--especially financial means, however--were thus used, this would influence considerably the implementation of such programs.

As a matter of fact, for a long time now our military units and Army have been involved in the building of important economic projects. Almost 50 percent of our troops are working in building economic projects. We believe that thus they preserve their standard of combat, political training, and spirit of work better, and thus they participate effectively in the implementation of our

country's development programs. At least in our country--but I know that the same thing also applies to other countries--in conditions of peace the Army has participated and in many countries it continues to participate actively in the implementation of various economic targets. I am aware of the fact that the military command is not made to perform such duties; however, it can make certain recommendations in the spirit of democracy and relations of cooperation. In any case, I want to tell you that our party has proceeded from the fact that the Army must be involved much more actively in the overall socioeconomic development program, while preserving the level of its political and combat training, its instruction, and the appropriate military equipment required, in conformity with our programs in this respect.

Everyone is very well aware of what will happen in case of a war--although our peace and disarmament policy should rule out such a possibility; in any case, up to now it has done so and prospects are that we will achieve positive results and that we will really proceed to disarmament; thus, for the time being, there is no danger of a military conflict or a war. This is the general conclusion that has been reached by common agreement, and now we must do all we can to strengthen peace and to remove the danger of war in general. However, if, against all reason, a war broke out, this war would not be only a war of armies, but a war of all our peoples; the whole nation will have to be involved with all its strength in that war.

Thus, in order to strengthen our combat capacity we must develop and strengthen our economy, our forces, and the unity of our peoples around the party and government as decisive forces in defending our revolutionary achievements and in rejecting any imperialist aggression, although--I want to repeat--there is no danger of war today or in the near future.

By no means do I want to give the impression that we are not determined to participate actively in the implementation of all the programs we share regarding the improvement of our Army's combat capability and the development of our armies in general. We will certainly take all necessary measures to always fulfill our duties. However, we believe--and I want to stress this--that we must do all we can to achieve disarmament and to ensure peace. If we ensure peace, the military command will also be able to play its role under better conditions. Let us be prepared for defending ourselves in case of war, for fighting, and for rejecting and aggression. However the best thing for us is to struggle for peace because only peace will guarantee our peoples the necessary conditions for development and well-being. Even a war fought just with conventional weapons would be much more destructive than World War II because we must bear in mind that conventional weapons have been perfected--as you well know--not to mention nuclear weapons, the employment of which would mean the destruction of life itself.

Therefore, we must understand very well that our enemies must support our parties' and governments' policy aimed at disarmament and achieving peace, and at socialist construction. I want to stress this in order to endorse Comrade Kulikov's concluding words which emphasized that the Military Council of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member-countries has decided to support our parties' and states' disarmament and peace policy. I view this as a very good guideline, without neglecting--I want to stress the second aspect, too--

its military obligations. We believe that we must do all we can to ensure peace, achieve disarmament, ensure socialist construction in each country, and strengthen our countries in all fields.

In this spirit, our Army, party, and state will fulfill their duties and honor their responsibilities in all areas; we will strengthen cooperation, solidarity, and unity with all Warsaw Pact countries, with other socialist countries, and with the forces of peace and we will--I repeat--fulfill our military duties as well. We would not like to have to use our armies and weapons; we would like to reach the point as soon as possible when--as the first socialist put it--weapons will become an object for display in museums. Then we will fulfill our duties as Communists and then we will indeed ensure a future of peace, quiet, and well-being, and a secure future for our peoples.

With this being said, I wish you successes in your activity! I wish all of you much good health! (loud applause)

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CSO: 2020/30

ARMY POLITICAL COUNCIL HOLDS PLENUM

AU261840 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 26 Nov 86

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26 November 86--On Wednesday, 26 November, Bucharest venue a plenary meeting of the Army Higher Political Council with the active. The plenary meeting debated the activity carried on by the Higher Political Council, by commanders, by RCP, UCY [Union of Communist Youth] and trade union bodies and organizations for the fulfillment of the Army's goals and tasks concerning the development of the national economy over 1986-1990.

The proceedings were attended by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

The participants in the plenum sent a telegram to Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, supreme commander of the Armed Forces, which reads inter alia: The country's Army, just like our entire people, that wholeheartedly support the foreign policy of international peace and collaboration promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, a policy brilliantly initiated and carried into effect by you, unanimously said a firm yes to the 5 percent cut in troops, arms and military spending at the 23 November referendum and also reiterated their solemn pledge to reinforce their vote through a greater contribution to the homeland's economic and social development participating, the way they have done so far, in the people's peaceful work, in the completion of large investment projects, in the whole nation's efforts for the many sided flowering of the homeland, the strengthening of its defence capacity and the endurance of the work and life of all the citizens of Socialist Romania.

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CSO: 2020/30

TU SUPPORT FOR CEAUSESCU PEACE INITIATIVE

AU211431

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in romanian on 20 November carries on page 5 a 600-word "Telegram sent to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by the participants in a meeting of the AKTIV of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania" held in Bucharest 19 November. The cable expresses "full adherence to and support for our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy and for your initiative to proceed even this year to a 5 percent cut in weapon, troops, and military expenditures." The cable extols "the actions, steps, and solutions" proposed by Ceausescu to "International Forums" which have brought Romania "great international prestige and have won for you, our great and beloved leader, the respect of the whole of mankind which views you as the greatest hero of peace."

The cable also praises Elena Ceausescu's contribution to "promoting the achievements of science in the service of mankind's progress."

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CSO: 2020/30

NICU CEAUSESCU MEETS YOUTH LEADERS IN BUDAPEST

AU291824 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1439 GMT 29 Nov 86

[Text] Budapest (AGERPRES) 29 November 86--In Budapest for the twelfth assembly of the organizations members of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Nicu Ceausescu, alternate member of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee, first secretary of the CC of the UCY, met with delegations participating in the event.

During the interviews with first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, the Free German Youth of the GDR, the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, with the chairman of the General Union of Palestinian Students and the secretary of the Democratic Youth of Japan, as well as with the presidents of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and of the International Union of Students, opinions were exchanged on current aspects of the international youth and student movement.

The collocutors were highly appreciative of the active and consistent stand of Socialist Romania, of its president Nicolae Ceausescu in the debate and appropriate settlement of the vital problems of the present-day world, of the romanian initiatives of wide international reverberation aimed at disarmament, among which is the recent decision on Romania's 5 percent arms, troops and military spending reduction.

Emphasis was placed on the need to enhance the contribution of the young generation everywhere to the peoples' general fight for the removal of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, the maintenance and consolidation of peace, for the building of a better and more just world on our planet.

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CSO: 2020/30

ELENA CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES SCIENCE COUNCIL PLENUM

Opening Speech

AU171602 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Oct 86 pp 1, 3

[Speech by Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, to 30 October plenary session of that council held in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades: In our country's current socioeconomic development stage, the party sets highly responsible tasks for science and education which are called upon to increase their contribution to commendably meet the requirements of the new scientific-technical revolution and of the new agrarian revolution, to implement the strategic target put forward by the 13th RCP Congress aimed at Romania's transition by 1990 to a new and higher stage of development, and at achieving a new quality in the work and life of all our people.

The recent party Central Committee plenum and the speech delivered at it by the party secretary general once again vigorously stressed the need to do everything to ensure the complete fulfillment of the 1986 plan and of the overall 5-Year Plan, the thorough preparation for next year's production, and a more active participation of science in implementing the party program. This requires that scientific research be more and more involved in our country's overall socioeconomic development, that scientific-technological progress be promoted in a more sustained way, and that the contribution by science and technology to the intensive development of the national economy and to modernizing the forces of production, to making more efficient use of our country's entire material and human potential, be constantly increased.

In implementing the general policy of socialist construction, our party and state proceed from the fact that science constitutes a primary factor for present-day progress and that the comprehensively developed socialist and communist societies can be built successfully only on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology. From here stems also the need to broadly carry out the new scientific-technical revolution and the new agrarian revolution in our country, a fact that requires far-reaching revolutionary changes in technology, in the organization of work, and in the very way people think and act.

Proceeding from these basic concepts and guidelines of our party, our plenary session must examine with maximum exactingness and in a critical and self-critical spirit not only the activity carried out so far, but also the activity we are to carry out in the future, so that scientific research and education will be up to the requirements of the current stage of development of the Romanian society and that it will be fully in keeping with the tasks set by the party.

Esteemed Comrades, as is known, the working people in our country achieved--under the leadership of party bodies and organizations--important results in 1986 in our country's socioeconomic growth.

On the basis of results achieved so far, one can say that the annual increase in industrial production will be at least 7 percent. Agriculture has achieved yields in excess of 28 million metric tons of grains--the largest ever in Romania's history--and important increases have been achieved in other crops as well.

Some 200 billion lei worth of fixed assets will be put into operation to strengthen the material-technological base of our economy even more.

The natural income will increase by some 8 percent; the resources needed for the development of the forces of production will be achieved and the provisions for improving our people's standard of living will thus be implemented.

Scientific research has made an important contribution to all these results. More than 900 new and modernized technologies have been introduced into the production process this year, while the production plan of research units and technological engineering has been overfulfilled.

A decisive role in achieving these results was played by the action initiated by the party leadership and aimed at perfecting the organization and modernization of the production processes which encompassed all areas and brought about a vigorous mobilization of our technical, research, and production forces and of the broad people's masses to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the current 5-Year Plan.

Within this action, tangible programs of measures were worked out by creating commissions in ministries, central departments, and enterprises to modernize technological manufacturing lines, improve technical training and production control, and to raise the professional training of manpower.

Beginning already with this year, the first stage of implementation of this program, the production process of our processing industry has been modernized proportionally by 15 percent through the production of highly technical products for exports and our own needs. Thus, the overall increase in industrial production in this period was achieved on the basis of increased labor productivity.

Achievements this year would certainly have been more important if all ministries, central departments, and production and research units had fulfilled all provisions of the modernization programs.

Some branches and units registered a number of lags in the introduction of new products, especially regarding machines, equipment, and the promotion of modern technologies.

Certain products characterized by poor performance and high costs have been introduced into the production process. Standardized consumption of fuel, electrical power, metals, and other raw materials have been exceeded. Investment projects do not meet current requirements because they permit oversize solutions, the use of expensive materials, and the application of outdated technologies. The standardization and norming activity is lagging and this has had a negative influence on the efficiency of the production process.

The further application of the programs aimed at the modernization and improvement of the organization framework of production in the second stage, up to 1988, requires that research, together with the ministries, central departments, and enterprises act most determinedly to carry out all measures aimed at a scientific organization of production, increasing productivity and improving the technical level of products, at reducing raw and other material consumption, and at increasing economic efficiency in all activities.

Perfecting work and eliminating all shortcomings which has been obvious in our activity so far must be the focus of this plenary session so that firm measures will be worked out to optimally fulfill all provisions of our technical plan.

Esteemed Comrades, on the basis the guidelines adopted by the 13th RCP Congress, special programs have been formulated for areas which are decisive for the intensive development of our national economy and our major efforts must be made in the direction of implementation them commendably.

Special attention must be paid especially to programs for the further development of our own raw and other material base.

Action must be taken to shorten the duration of geological research and to proceed immediately to exploring and utilizing the deposits of useful substances.

Technologies envisaged for the extraction of brown coal, for increasing our own cooking coal production, and for exploiting our reserves of nonferrous metals and other nonferrous ores must be firmly applied. The oil industry must accelerate drilling operations, intensify deep drilling, radically improve the final recovering factor, and ensure all necessary conditions for the utilization of the resources of hydrocarbons of the Black Sea continental shelf.

Important tasks devolve on the research and design units in ensuring the optimal operation of all energy aggregates, decreasing technological

consumption in central departments and losses in electrical networks, in implementing programs for putting into production the equipment networks, in implementing programs for putting into production the equipment and materials needed for the construction of nuclear power plants, and in making sure that deadlines for putting them into operation are observed.

More perseverance is required in implementing the programs aimed at utilizing new and recoverable sources of energy.

To reduce fuel and energy consumption, the situation of all technological installations, especially of high energy-consuming ones, must be examined concretely and measures must be worked out to modernize those installations in order to increase energy efficiency in all branches of the national economy.

An essential contribution to implementing the programs for the better use of raw and other materials must be made by research. All branches of the national economy must take measures for formulating, introducing, and giving general application to modern technologies to thus ensure an optimal utilization of raw and other materials, increase their utilization efficiency and their coefficient of being turned into finished products, and reduce losses.

An important target of the research and design activity is also the implementation of the program for recovering and utilizing materials which can be recycled and the programs for rebuilding spare parts and subassemblies in order to reintroduce them into the production process.

To implement the provisions of these programs--which should be viewed as minimum--it is necessary to introduce and give general application to modern technologies for utilizing useful substances in used products and in material wastes resulting from the production process, in ash heaps, and waste waters. Likewise, improved technologies for rebuilding spare parts and other subassemblies and for using them again in the production process must be worked out.

One of the basic priorities of the current 5-Year Plan is the implementation of the program for a more vigorous improvement in labor productivity--a decisive area for the assertion of the superiority of our system.

In this field, the organization and modernization activity has made it obvious that there is great room for substantially exceeding initial provisions and for doubling this index by 1990. The tasks of research are all the more important since 57 percent of the planned increase in labor productivity will be ensured on the basis of technical progress.

More determined action is necessary to perfect technologies, extensively promote mechanization, electronics, and automation, to make better use of manpower, and to strengthen order and discipline in the production process.

A decisive target of the current stage is the implementation of the program for improving the technical and qualitative level of products.

The 5-Year Plan stipulates that on the basis of extensive action toward modernization and redesigning, the share of production that will match the high world standard will be 77 percent in 1987 and will amount to 95 percent in 1990, while some 5 percent will exceed world standards. Thus we will continue to ensure an increase in the economic-technical competitiveness of the Romanian industry and a greater contribution by it to fulfilling the export plan and to the general progress of our economy.

In the machine-building industry, the research and design activity must contribute to reducing the weight of products, to manufacturing high performance equipment and tools characterized by durability and reduced consumption, to putting into production a large range of integrated circuits and microprocessors for electronics and automation, and to developing fine mechanics to a greater extent.

In the area of metallurgy, special attention must be paid to introducing high quality products and special brands required by the oil, energy, nuclear, and aviation program and to increasing the processing rate of iron and steel products. Modern technologies for precision casting, for plasma and laser cutting, and for metal coating and processing must be introduced and expanded.

In the chemical and petrochemical industry, efforts must be intensified to deepen the processing and use of crude oil and to ensure a modern chemicalization of methane gas and of other raw materials, to manufacture better brands in the tire industry, better technical items made of rubber, and better processed plastics, yarns, and chemical yarns.

It is necessary to diversify the production of pure and extra-pure substances, and of materials for electrical engineering and electronics, to develop the production of medicines, dyes, and organic colors on the basis of our own raw materials, and to manufacture a wide range of low-tonnage products highly in demand for exports.

Important problems regarding increasing product quality, making better use of our own natural and synthetic raw materials are further posed in the light industry, in the area of wood processing, construction materials, and in other processing branches.

Research and technological engineering units must perfect their own production process by focusing their attention on manufacturing the products needed by the national economy, a fact that requires a particular technological concept--such as reagents, chemical agents, metal powder, special alloys, catalysts, and one-of-a-kind equipment.

Improvements in the structure of production and the increasingly effective use of the resources in our economy must be achieved while utilizing imported raw and other materials and products with maximum care.

The recent analysis of the 1987 plan demonstrated--on the basis of norms and standards--numerous possibilities to reduce or replace certain imports, a fact that indicates that, when formulating their proposals, the central departments and ministries do not examine real requirements with great responsibility.

Therefore, central institutions and research units, together with end-user enterprises, must act to implement and even exceed program provisions aimed at putting into production certain products, especially in chemistry, petrochemistry, and in metallurgy.

A role of great importance has to be played by scientific research in implementing the new agrarian revolution. The fact that significance increases are achieved today in agricultural yields demonstrated that great possibilities exist in this area as well.

Agricultural research must continue to ensure new and highly productive varieties of corn, sunflower, industrial, and other plants, new breeds of animals which yield large meat and milk outputs, and it must ensure an improvement in the methods of fertilizing and tilling lands, in sowing and harvesting technologies, and in the program for land improvement operations.

The fact that the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Industrial Plants was awarded the title "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" must give impetus to all research workers and to all research units in agriculture to achieve the best of results.

It is necessary that the research and design activity pay particular attention to increasing the efficiency of investments by using the most modern equipment, technologies, and construction solutions in new projects and that they make a great contribution to reducing material consumption in construction-assembly operations by at least 20 percent, and see to it that only standardized materials are being used.

We must eliminate the shortcomings of the past when expensive and uneconomical materials were used, when oversize and heavy construction were built, thus leading to an exaggerated increase in investment costs.

Special attention must be paid to firmly promoting technical norm-setting for consumption and the standardization of products throughout the economy.

Technical norm-setting must incorporate all resources and contribute effectively to a more pronounced cutback in specific consumption by redesigning products, modernizing installations, rationalizing production lines, and by eliminating technologies losses. By firmly applying the programs for organizing and modernizing the production process, we must see to it that in this area we rapidly match or even exceed what has been achieved at world level, thus ensuring, throughout the 5-Year Plan, an increased utilization rate of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy of at least 30 percent.

In formulating and applying standards, care must be taken to ensure a constant increase in the technical and qualitative parameters of products, so that they are on a par with the most exacting requirements of domestic and foreign end-users and so that they can compete with the best such products at a world level.

A closer link is required between applied research and basic research--in mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology--to increase the contribution of our national science to both the fulfillment of the 1986-90 5-Year Plan, to ensuring the technical solutions needed by our country's socioeconomic development in the coming period, and to enriching the treasury of universal knowledge.

Scientific research must pay special attention to problems linked to perfecting the economic activity and applying the financial-economic mechanism, strengthening workers self-management and self-administration, and attention must be paid to social problems, to ensuring our people's health, and protecting the environment and improving the quality of life.

The new revolution in science and technology requires that all research personnel be characterized by a firm and bold attitude, and a vision profoundly involved in socioeconomic development, it requires the firm elimination of any kind of routine attitude, the promotion of a high revolutionary spirit in thinking and action, and a sustained concern for self-improvement, for better professional and political knowledge, and for becoming acquainted with everything that is new in the world. Under the current circumstances we must ensure real radical and revolutionary changes in the powerful scientific-technical potential to match the great achievements of human knowledge.

All sectors must shorten the research-design-production cycle. For this purpose research in pilot-projects must be intensified and experiments must be carried out under such conditions that they can be applied rapidly in the production process.

Likewise, we must set up interdisciplinary working collectives made up of researchers, designers, and cadres from education and the production process whose task it is to assume responsibility for all activities, beginning with research and going on to the application of results in the production process and achieving planned parameters.

The fulfillment of the adopted special programs and, in general, of the basic guidelines of the new 5-Year Plan requires further improvement in the activity carried out by the National Council for Science and Education, by the central institutes, and by all research and design units and ensuring closer cooperation with central departments and enterprises in order to promote technical and scientific progress in all economic areas and strengthen the leadership, guidance, and control of all activities in this area.

Within our party's general policy of Romania's more and more active participation in international activities, we will continue to develop scientific-technological cooperation with the other states. Within the framework of bilateral programs concluded for the current 5-Year Plan, more than 700 research and technological development projects were stipulated in all areas.

Our country also participates in a great number of ventures included in the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technological Cooperation within CEMA up

to the Year 2000. A closer link must be ensured between scientific-technological cooperation and economic cooperation, both bilateral and many-sided, so that the research-production cycle will be achieved most rapidly and effectively.

In the time left until the end of the year we must intensify our activity to ensure the complete fulfillment of the 1986 tasks in order to thoroughly prepare for the 1987 plan.

We have all necessary conditions to commendably fulfill the important tasks we have in 1986 and throughout the 5-Year Plan. It is essential now to organize work better, to mobilize all research workers, designers, and specialists in the production process, so that, through joint efforts, we are able to seek new and more effective solutions for introducing technical progress and for improving the organizational framework of production and labor to match our plans and programs.

A priority task for all research workers is to completely fulfill the program for perfecting the organization and modernization of the production process.

The Central Commission and the commissions of branches, of counties, and of each production unit are dutybound to supervise the implementation of all program indexes and to take firm measures to eliminate any arrears and failings in this activity.

Let us work so that Romanian science and technology will assert themselves--as the party expects us to do--as essential factors in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the great program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and our homeland's advanced toward communism!
(loud applause)

Esteemed Comrades, the implementation of the targets of the 5-Year Plan and beyond up to the year 2000 requires--as an objective need--a further improvement of education and of the overall cadres training system and it requires perfecting the standard of professional, technological, and scientific training.

The intensive development of the economy and the revolution in science and technology cannot be achieved without a new revolution in the standard of cadres training in all areas. In this respect, education has to play a most important role.

We must optimally use the conditions created for education in our country, so that it will play its social role with the best of results and that it will be fully up to the greater tasks it faces in the current stage--to be always up to what is new and modern in human knowledge and thinking and up to the changes brought about by the current scientific-technological revolution, and to ensure that specialists will acquire high quality professional knowledge and a modern concept of the world and life.

Romania today has modern education based on uniform and scientifically-substantiated concepts, which is making an essential contribution to the

training of highly-qualified specialists and to the retraining for reassignment and the many-sided qualification of the working personnel--a process of essential importance for brushing up and improving their professional knowledge.

To continue to perfect the educational activity, it is necessary to further improve our programs, the specialization, and job training of our students, so that the training of a large number of specialists will be carried out on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology and in keeping with the concrete requirements of the production process and so that their rapid adaptation to other areas is also ensured.

Education must pay greater attention to the acquisition of basic knowledge in such important subjects as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology to which one has to add the subjects with a strong educational influence on young people such as Romanian language and literature and our homeland's history and geography. Only thus can the school's profoundly humane mission be fulfilled: to blend concern with ensuring for our graduates an extensive and specialized training and, at the same time, a broad scientific and cultural horizon.

Our overall educational system must be firmly based on a thorough knowledge and acquisition of the materialist-dialectical and historic concept about the world and life and our party's revolutionary theory which creatively applies the general truths of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions in Romania.

In the process of training pupils and students, we must further ensure an improvement in their practical work in the production process, so that they are able to acquire the necessary skills to properly perform their work and so that they are able to rapidly adapt to productive activity and achieve positive results.

Education is facing highly responsible tasks, namely to make an increased contribution to promoting scientific-technological progress throughout the economy and in social life and to implementing the special programs in the area of scientific research. As our party secretary general has stressed, education, research and production must be a united and inseparable whole.

An honorable duty of our schools has been and continues to be the revolutionary, profoundly scientific, and broadly humane education of the young generation. Education must make a decisive contribution to fashioning the new man with a high revolutionary and communist awareness and educated in the spirit of love for work, for social justice and equity, of respect for and defense of the national wealth. The school must cultivate among the young generation fervent patriotic sentiments and the determination to unswervingly serve the country, the party, and our people, and to do all they can to strengthen our homeland's independence and sovereignty and to achieve Socialist Romania's progress and prosperity. (loud, prolonged applause)

Within the framework of the overall program on ensuring the necessary manpower and further developing and improving the training of cadres in the 1986-90 period, the Ministry of Education and Instruction together with other

ministries and central bodies are dutybound to bring up to date yearly and long-term plans and to improve the organization and content of the efforts to raise the professional training of cadres in all fields, in accordance with the latest achievements of science and technology and the requirements of the country's socioeconomic development. The law-envisaged forms of improving and recycling cadres must ensure, in accordance with program provisions, that each working man should attend, once every two to three years, an organized form of improving professional training.

As the party secretary general said in his speech to the Working People's Congress, we will have to draw up a special program on improving professional and technical knowledge and on mastering and applying scientific-technical achievements in all fields.

A great responsibility for improving the entire educational activity devolves on the teaching staff which is dutybound to ensure a high qualitative level for the entire instructive-educational process and concern itself with further improving its professional, political, and pedagogical training, on the basis of the latest achievements of human knowledge in their specialized field; the teaching staff must be a model of conduct, must actively participate in the communist and revolutionary fashioning and education of pupils and students, and must enhance the spirit of order and discipline.

All forces in the educational system must be broadly mobilized to ensure the development of the Romanian school in accordance with the progress of science, with the requirements of the new scientific-technical and agrarian revolution, and with the prerequisites of our intensive national economic development and of the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

A particular role in attaining the key targets of scientific research and education devolves on the National Council for Science and Education, which is called upon to mobilize its entire scientific-technical potential to fully attain the tasks established by our plans and programs for this year and the entire 5-Year Plan period and to implement the orientations for Romania's long-term development through the year 2000.

The National Council of Science and Education as a whole, as well as each individual member, must unswervingly work in a spirit of high exactingness and responsibility to further improve work in these very important sectors of our social construction, to develop the entire scientific-technological creative effort to the level of requirements of the new scientific-technical revolution, to ensure the all-round training of cadres for all fields of the socioeconomic life, to further improve the working people's professional training, and to raise the overall level of culture and knowledge of the entire nation.

Esteemed Comrades, while acting to ensure the country's socioeconomic development and promote the progress of science, education, and culture, our party and state also pay particular attention to international life and actively participate in the efforts firmly promote a policy of peace and cooperation in the world.

It is well-known that the international situation is still tense and that states of tension continue to persist, something which seriously jeopardizes the peace and existence of nations and the entire mankind.

As Romania's president has often stressed in the past, the key issue of our age is to halt the arms race, proceed to disarmament, and defend the peace and existence of peoples. Our country works firmly along these lines and militates resolutely for removing the dangers of war and defending the vital right of people and nations to life and peace.

Answering the ardent appeal launched by the country's president Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu from the rostrum of the Grand National Assembly, we must intensify our actions devoted to peace and disarmament and must broadly mobilize our forces to further disseminate Romania's call for peace, so as to assert the Romanian people's will and determination to struggle most firmly for an end to the arms race on earth and in space, for disarmament, and for removing the dangers of a nuclear war. (loud applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu--Peace!")

We live at a time of great upsurge in scientific thinking and of epoch-making discoveries that deeply influence all aspects of human existence. In these circumstances, we find it absurd and senseless that a good part of the brilliant achievements of the human mind and of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution should be used for creating mass-destruction means.

Life and experience have shown how dangerous the unchecked release of nuclear energy or the indiscriminate use of chemical substances can be. The great achievements of human genius, which can profoundly modify nature and man's life today require that scientists and politicians should have a great civic awareness and a great moral responsibility.

Let us firmly work to ensure that the research manpower and means and the huge material and human resources allocated today to armaments are oriented instead toward eliminating underdevelopment, hunger, and illness and ensuring the unhampered access of all nations, primarily the developing countries, to the achievements of modern science and civilization!

Realizing the great responsibility devolving upon them in today's world, the scientists must pool their efforts, strengthen their cooperation, and, together with their peoples, say a resolute no to nuclear arms, oppose any tests with these weapons, and advocate a transition to a gradual reduction and elimination of stockpiles of nuclear weapons and any other mass-destruction means!

As our country's president said, it is necessary to draft a comprehensive disarmament program mainly aimed at eliminating nuclear weapons, while also envisaging the reduction and elimination of classical and conventional weapons, which are no less dangerous for the life and peace of nations.

As is known, at the proposal of the country's president Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the latest session of Grand National Assembly adopted a law on a 5 percent reduction of armaments, troops, and military expenditures by the SR of

Romania and on consulting the people in this connection in a referendum. Together with all our people, the scientists, educators, and men of culture will undoubtedly say a resolute yes in this referendum, as an expression of our unflinching will to engage ourselves with all our might and participate actively in promoting the cause of disarmament and peace. (lively and strong applause)

In this year, proclaimed as the International Year of Peace, scientists and teaching staff must firmly engage themselves in concrete actions which reflect the Romanian people's firm determination to actively contribute to the triumph of reason and peace and to ensure the assertion of a new policy of transition from confrontation to the negotiated resolution of all contentious problems between states.

Resolutely speaking out for disarmament and peace, let us ceaselessly strengthen our cooperation with scientists from other countries in the struggle to promote these high ideals and aspirations of nations and today's mankind!

Let us directly call on professional organizations of scientists and on scientific and cultural associations in all countries to act together for the assertion of a policy of disarmament, detente, cooperation, and peace! (lively applause)

By acting in close unity within the national committee "Scientists for Peace" as well as together with all our people and all peace-loving nations in the world, let us ensure that today's and tomorrow's generations can live in peace, freedom, and well-being in a world without weapons and wars, a world of cooperation and understanding among nations! (loud applause)

Esteemed Comrades, in conclusion I would like to express the conviction that our plenary meeting will examine the agenda points in a spirit of high responsibility and that we will establish new measures--on the basis of conclusions to be drawn--for the progress of Romanian science and education and for their closer correlation to life and the requirements for the comprehensive development of Socialist Romania and for the promotion of peace and cooperation throughout the world. (loud and prolonged applause)

Concluding Speech

AU171025 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 Oct 86 p 2

[Speech by Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, first deputy prime minister of the government, and chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, at the conclusion of the plenary meeting of the National Council for Science and Education on 30 October in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades:

Our plenary meeting has examined and discussed activities to date as well as concrete ways and means to intensively develop the national economy, attain a

new quality of life and work for all the people, ceaselessly increase the national wealth, and promote the comprehensive flourishing of the fatherland.

The plenary discussions showed that there is still a lot to be done to fully meet the highly responsible tasks and requirements set by our party and state for research and education.

We will have to work more firmly and responsibly to raise the entire activity to an even higher level and increase our contribution to fulfilling tasks for this year, properly preparing the ground for the 1987 plan, and successfully implementing tasks for the entire 5-Year Plan and the decisions of the 13th Party Congress.

I express the conviction that all members of the National Council for Science and Education and all research institutes and units will do their best to fully meet the outstanding tasks incumbent upon us in implementing the priority plans and programs to promote technical progress in the entire national economy, increase labor productivity, raise the quality of products, reduce consumption, and attain high economic efficiency in all branches.

Let us truly ensure that the Romanian science and education assert themselves as a strong force of our socialist construction and of the unflinching implementation of the party program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensure Romania's progress toward communism!

On behalf of the party secretary general, I extend wishes for new and ever greater success to participants in the plenary meeting and to all working people in science and education! (lively and prolonged applause)

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CSO: 2020/30

GERE CONVEYS RCP GREETINGS TO AKEL CONGRESS

AU291734 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0903 GMT 29 Nov 86

[Text] Nicosia (AGERPRES 29 November 86--The RCP salute addressed to the participants in the 16th Congress of the Progressive party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) by Mihai Gere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, points to the special attention Communists and working people of Romania give to the activity of the party for the fulfillment of the legitimate national aspirations of the Cypriot people, for the promotion of their fundamental interests of progress, democracy and better life. The speaker expressed satisfaction at the evolution of the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and AKEL, based on equality, esteem and mutual respect. The belief was expressed that these relations would develop continuously to the benefit of both parties, countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace.

The RCP, he said, considers that in the current international circumstances, there is no other more important problem than disarmament and peace, that everything possible should be done to rally the efforts of all peoples, of progressive and realistic-minded forces everywhere to halt the dangerous course of events, to end the policy of arming on earth and in outer space, for effective and substantial cuts in nuclear and conventional arms, to secure a quiet life for the citizens of the planet, with no fears of war.

The speaker further showed that Romania attached special importance to the development of the collaboration and good neighbourhood in the Balkans, to the transformation of this region into a zone of peace, free of chemical and nuclear arms, of foreign military bases. Romania is for the settlement of the Cyprus issue by direct negotiations between the two communities, to safeguard the unity, territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus, its non-aligned status, the peaceful and democratic coexistence of Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

The Romanian Communist Party works steadfastly for the strengthening of the collaboration and solidarity with all the communist and worker parties, with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other parties and democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist organizations everywhere. We do believe that it is in peoples' power to halt the course of events towards catastrophe, to let reason triumph, to impose disarmament, peace and broad collaboration among all nations, the speaker concluded.

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CSO: 2020/30

IOAN TOTY CSCE ADDRESS IN VIENNA

AU061734 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Nov 86 p 6

[Report on speech made by Ioan Toty, minister of foreign affairs of the SR of Romania, at the CSCE in Vienna 4 November]

[Text] On behalf of the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the speaker most warmly greeted the organization of this new all-European meeting in the Austrian capital and wished all participants complete success in the progress of the proceedings.

He then presented Romania's position, the considerations, and assessments of our country's president in connection with achieving disarmament, security, and cooperation in Europe and with the major problems included in the conference agenda.

The problems of security and cooperation in Europe hold a central place in Romania's international activity, the speaker stressed. Romania, therefore, attaches particular importance to the conference, which opened its proceedings today, in the belief that it is necessary to act, from its very beginning, so that it takes place under favorable conditions, thus marking new steps in the direction of strengthening cooperation and collaboration among all European countries and in the direction of a united Europe of peace and fruitful cooperation.

The conference is taking place at a time when many serious problems, both economic and political, have accumulated in the international arena. An objective and scientific study of the international situation cannot ignore the fact that two diametrically opposed tendencies are confronting each other in the world today. On the one hand we witness signs of the policy of force, of interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and signs of the continuation of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race. On the other hand, there is a tendency favoring detente, opposing the arms race, and advocating disarmament and peace. Facts prove that a relative balance is being preserved between these two tendencies. This is why we believe that this conference has to play a particular role in uniting the forces which act toward detente, disarmament, and peace, the Romanian minister stressed. The basic problem of our time is that of nuclear and general disarmament and of ensuring peace.

Especially in the current international situation it is clear that in a world of interdependence the socioeconomic development plans of each people--therefore of the Romanian people as well--can be implemented only in conditions of peace and of disarmament which would permit the huge financial, material, and human resources which are wasted today to produce new destructive weapons be channeled toward improving the world economic situation and toward the smooth development of all countries.

Our country, the speaker said, bases all its relations firmly on respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage, in the unshakable belief that this is the only way to guarantee each nation freedom and national independence and socioeconomic progress.

In the spirit of this principled and consistent policy, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu have taken initiatives and steps to achieve security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world.

As a European country, Romania has been at the side of other countries and among the protagonists of normalizing relations, achieving detente, initiating, properly preparing, and successfully holding the Helsinki Conference.

The speaker then stressed that from the moment the Final Act was signed in August 1975, the president of the SR of Romania has drawn attention to the fact that the Helsinki event should not create the illusion that we can sit back calmly and securely; but that, on the contrary, determined action is necessary by the European people to actually achieve peace, well-being, and freedom.

Facts and realities demonstrate that during the time span that has elapsed since then, the process of detente that was achieved with difficulties and common efforts by all states participating in the CSCE process has eroded and that despite the Final Act provisions, not only have no concrete steps been taken in the direction of disarmament, but on the contrary, a great number of all kinds of nuclear weapons have been deployed in Europe--even in some countries in which there were no such weapons--and, at the same time, the largest volume of conventional arms and number of troops are concentrated on this continent. Under such conditions, even a nuclear accident, not to mention a nuclear explosion, would endanger the lives of all people on this continent.

In respecting the historic truth, one must also say that it is more and more obvious that there is a tendency toward implementing--through a distorted view--the Helsinki Final Act by ignoring provisions of the utmost importance such as real measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and the free and unhampered development of economic and scientific-technological relations. At the same time, a revival of the bloc policy has been resumed. However, in Romania's opinion, the present and future of Europe requires action especially in the current serious circumstances to develop a new unity based on respect for various social systems which should proceed from common interests, namely of guaranteeing the peoples on this continent independence,

socioeconomic development, well-being, and peace. Only united can the European peoples ensure a better future of complete equality and freedom for themselves.

Referring to the Soviet-American summit, which took place last month in Iceland and which concluded without tangible results, the speaker stressed that on the basis of what is known one can draw certain conclusions for the future. The first one is that, on the basis of negotiations which were conducted with the desire to reach accords, it is possible to reach appropriate accords on the most complicated problems including the elimination of nuclear weapons, the achievement of conventional disarmament, and a policy of peace. Second, taking into consideration that throughout the years mistrust has increased, many of the problems confronting mankind cannot be solved in a short time and through a general approach. The third conclusion is that a new approach to world problems is required, primarily regarding nuclear weapons. It is necessary for all nuclear states to renounce the outdated concept according to which nuclear weapons strengthen security and defense capacity and contribute to the preservation of peace in the world. It is also imperative for all states and peoples, irrespective of social system, size or military and economic potential, to participate more actively in solving problems.

In Romania's opinion, one has to proceed from the fact that in the current world balance of forces, within which the United States and the USSR play an overwhelming role, the states on the continent and a united Europe can make a contribution of great importance to resolving the complicated problems in the international arena. From both a political, economic, scientific-technical and from a military viewpoint Europe continues to be an important factor within the context of the development of the international situation. At the same time, a very serious situation has been created in Europe because of the deployment of a great number of weapons on this continent. While respecting and duly valuing the role played and contribution made by other countries and continents to enriching the treasury of material and cultural assets of mankind and to the cause of disarmament and peace, and therefore without underrating other forces, one can justifiably say that there is no other force in the world to contribute more than Europe to the resolution of the problems facing mankind. This is why it is necessary to develop cooperation among all states on this continent and this is why Europe should assume responsibility and act with all its might to solve the serious problems on the continent and in the international arena. The current situation in Europe requires intensified efforts by all countries in the two military groups to achieve disarmament and peace. The NATO and Warsaw Pact countries must participate directly in negotiations on the elimination of all nuclear weapons from our continent.

As far as the elimination of intermediate-range missiles from Europe is concerned, Romania believes that negotiations must be continued and intensified to reach an accord in the shortest time possible, all the more so as positions are close. What is needed is political will, constructive spirit, and desire for cooperation and for proceeding from declarations of intention to deeds.

Of great importance would be the achievement of a general accord on a total halt to nuclear testing and, in this sense, the involvement of all nuclear states in negotiations on halting nuclear testing and on the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Romania advocates the United States' renouncing the so-called "Star Wars" program, which would increase insecurity, the danger of a nuclear war and would lead to the development of the arms race in outer space. We also advocate the cessation of the arms race and achievement of disarmament under conditions of mutual trust and equal security, and under a strict international supervision.

The Socialist Republic of Romania believes that it is also necessary to proceed to reducing conventional weapons, so that by the year 2000 at least a 50 percent cutback in weapons, troops, and military expenditures will be achieved. To achieve this goal, which would contribute to the strengthening of trust and security, we believe that the two sides should proceed to the organization of negotiations in the shortest time possible and with the participation of all European countries.

Considering the need to achieve real disarmament measures, Romania is determined to proceed, even this year, to a unilateral cutback of 5 percent in its troops, weapons, and military expenditures. This decision was recently given the power of law by the Grand National Assembly, which also decided that, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, all our people should be consulted on this through a national referendum. The application of this decision marks the transition from words to tangible measures for disarmament and this means, in our opinion, a radical change in the relationship between negotiations and tangible measures for disarmament, the speaker stressed. This is also a new and telling expression of the Romanian people's desire for peace and for acting to achieve disarmament.

In the spirit of this principled policy, the country's president has sent messages to all heads of state and government in Europe, the United States, and Canada asking each of those countries to proceed to a 5 percent cutback, in weapons, troops, and military expenditures. By applying such a measure, the desire of each nation can be proven, namely to do everything possible to decrease tension and the danger of war and to achieve disarmament and peace.

Like all states, Romania highly valued the positive results with which the first stage of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe concluded and believes that the documents adopted by consensus are of great importance for strengthening trust and firm embarkation on the road to disarmament and that they are in keeping with the requirements of peoples in Europe and throughout the world. It would be of great importance if the Vienna meeting decided to convene the second stage of the Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament with a mandate that would permit an examination and elaboration of tangible measures for disarmament--including also those proposed by Romania regarding a cutback in weapons, troops and military expenditures, the elimination of foreign military bases, and the withdrawal of troops from the territories of other states.

We advocate the conclusion, in the shortest possible time, of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of certain military troops in Central Europe. Proceeding from the positive experience in Stockholm, we believe that the current negotiations can be concluded with positive results and that an even symbolic cutback in troops and weapons would be of particular political value.

Considering that the problems of disarmament and security must hold a central place within the Vienna conference proceedings, we believe that a working body of the conference should be set up to examine and seek solutions on the basis of consensus, so that it is possible to proceed to negotiations as soon as possible on tangible measures for disarmament on the continent, the speaker said.

A noteworthy contribution to the cause of security and cooperation in Europe, to the strengthening of peace, and to increasing trust would be the creation in the Balkan area of a zone of peace and good neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military bases, and the creation of such zones in central and northern Europe.

The supreme interests of peoples, of peace, and international security require that conflicts and armed actions should be stopped, that sources of tension and conflict should be solved solely by negotiations, and that the European states' contribution in this respect should increase.

A sine qua non for strengthening security, trust, for achieving the progress of each nation, and socioeconomic development is--within the CSCE process--the development and diversification of economic and scientific-technological cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and advantage. One can actually say that this is an essential requirement for peace and security on the continent.

In this sense, I want to stress that an important aspect of Romania's international activity is the vigorous development of economic exchanges and production sharing with European countries and with all countries in the world. It would be in the interest of all if the current meeting adopted effective commitments and measures aimed at giving an impetus to trade relations and economic cooperation by encouraging barter trade, developing industrial cooperation, including in third markets, and by expanding cooperation in the area of science and technology and in creating new technologies. In this respect, Romania proposes the convening of a European meeting to develop scientific-technological exchanges, to expand technology transfer, and to ensure unhampered access to the achievements of modern science and technology. At the same time, Romania support the convening of a conference of the participating states devoted to economic problems of the continent and a greater involvement of the European countries in protecting the environment, including the peaceful use of nuclear energy by all states in complete security.

Taking into consideration the practical possibilities offered by the mechanism of negotiations within the UN Economic Commission for Europe, we believe that it is necessary and useful to make use of it more effectively as a body which can implement the accords concluded within the CSCE process.

The speaker stressed that Romania speaks out for increasing Europe's contribution to eliminating underdevelopment, to the global resolution of the problem of foreign debts, and to the establishment of a new international economic order.

At the same time, Romania is for the development of cultural-artistic and scientific changes, and human contacts with all European countries and with all countries in the world. Our people, the Romanian minister said, harbors the greatest sentiments of esteem and respect toward each people. We always proceed from the fact that each nation, be it small or big, is making its original and valuable contribution to the enrichment of the universal heritage. We view cultural cooperation as cooperation among free, sovereign, and independent nations that should take place in a spirit of mutual respect and by proceeding from the diversity of social systems and without any interference in domestic affairs or pressure. Stressing that today culture is more than ever a prerequisite and a consequence of peace, the Romanian minister said that our country advocates and will act concretely to continue to develop and diversify cultural-artistic and scientific exchanges, and human contacts.

As a country that is carrying out extensive construction activity with the people and to their benefit, Romania believes that human rights begin by ensuring the basic right to peace and life and by guaranteeing a work place, and broad access of all citizens to education, culture, science, and to medical care. Of great importance is the achievement in practice of the unhampered participation of the people, irrespective, of nationality, in the leadership of the overall society, in the formulation, and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the state. In this sense, we act and apply man's basic rights in practice.

We are the partisans of a free exchange of ideas and information among all countries that should serve progress, cooperation, and the cause of peace and friendship, the speaker stressed. However, we believe that it is in the interest of each country to act to combat certain harmful phenomena for the healthy development of peoples, especially of the young generation, such as the propagation of hatred and violence toward man, of neofascist, revanchist, and revisionist concepts, of the apology of crime, pornography, and of the use of drugs. Stressing that certain circles interested in preserving tension encourage, in a direct way, various activities of disinformation which are at variance with the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, the speaker emphasized that such a way of interpreting the provisions of the Final Act harm the atmosphere of trust, friendship, and mutual respect, and the cause of detente and security in Europe.

When discussing these problems and proceeding from the need that the development of cultural and scientific exchanges and human contacts should serve a better mutual understanding and the development of cooperation and friendship among peoples, it would exert a great influence if the conference proceedings showed political will, a desire for cooperation, and a realistic approach to problems and if they placed stress on what is positive and unites us, the speaker said.

Socialist Romania and the country's president express their hope and conviction that this new and important all-European meeting will go down as an event of particular significance in the life of the peoples on our continent and that it will make an important contribution to developing the dialogue among the participating states, to proceeding to tangible measures of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to strengthening trust and fruitful cooperation.

The Romanian delegation is determined to fully contribute, together with all the other delegations present, to the constructive efforts, based on understanding and political will, and to the joint search for solutions in order to guarantee the peoples of the continent the quiet and peace they need for their creative activity, their socioeconomic development, and for improving their standard of civilization and well-being.

In conclusion, the speaker called, on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, on all states and peoples, and on all European parliaments to act more closely to ensure the triumph of reason and achieve a united Europe in a world of peace, without weapons and without wars.

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CSO: 2020/30

SCINTEIA MARKS GREAT OCTOBER' ANNIVERSARY

AU191517 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 86 p 5

[Editorial article on the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] Today is the 69th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution [GOSR]. The GOSR brilliantly crowned the struggle of the Russian proletariat and peasantry, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V.I. Lenin, the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations in Russia, and the national movement against the imperialist war and for peace, and they eliminated the capitalist system from a sixth part of the earth.

The revolutionary forces in Romania, which, together with workers everywhere manifested their active solidarity with the young Soviet power, enthusiastically greeted the victory of the Russian proletariat which, as a matter of fact showed that, under the leadership of an experienced revolutionary party, it is within the power of the people's masses and of the nations to become masters of their own destinies and to fulfill their aspirations for justice and progress.

The Soviet peoples, under the CPSU leadership, traveled a glorious road, won victory on the fronts of the civil war, defeated the foreign military intervention, and built socialism by continuously consolidating the revolutionary transformations they achieved in all fields of social life and by working diligently to overcome the country's technical, economic, and cultural lags. The new system was victorious in the hard struggle of the Great Patriotic War, in which the Soviet peoples united around the party showed great heroism in the struggle for the defense of the revolutionary achievements and made a decisive contribution to crushing fascism.

The great creative potential of socialism asserted itself clearly in the important achievements of the Soviet Union in all the economic, social, and cultural fields. Through the implementation of the party policy of industrialization, thousands of great productive units have been built, the unitary system of the national economy has been created, new and extensive areas in the northern and eastern part of the country have been included in the production flow, and the national income and the social labor productivity have considerably increased. The people's cultural wealth has increased and

secondary education has been generalized. The Soviet science and technology registered outstanding results.

The sustained work of the Soviet peoples, the important successes achieved in the economy, in the sociopolitical fields, in science, and culture, and the rise in the people's standard of living placed the country at a new stage of progress--the stage of developed socialism.

In this new stage of historical development, the CPSU set forth--at the 27th CPSU Congress, held at the beginning of this year--the strategic tasks for the many-sided improvement of the socialist society and for the better and more efficient utilization of its possibilities and advantages aimed at the continuous advance toward communism. Within this framework, intensive activity to accelerate socioeconomic development is carried out by radically renewing the technological and material base built on the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution; implementing a new, principled economic mechanism and perfecting social relations; activating the entire system of political, civic, and ideological institutions, and attracting citizens to an ever greater extent to leadership in the state and social life--all these are aimed at achieving a new level of quality in the Soviet society and at fully asserting the great superiority of socialism.

The Soviet Union carries out intensive international activity in the struggle to solve the major current problems in keeping with the interests of peace and progress.

The 69th GOSR anniversary is a happy opportunity to call attention again to the relations of friendship and cooperation--with old and rich traditions--between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples and between Socialist Romania and the Soviet Union.

Time has proven that a decisive role in developing Romanian-Soviet relations is played by the ties of friendship and solidarity between the RCP and the CPSU and by the summit meetings; the talks held between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and the understandings reached by the two leaders are of the greatest importance in this matter and open up new prospects to the cooperation between our countries and peoples.

Romanian-Soviet relations are continuously developing in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance having a solid foundation in the principles of full equality of rights, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and comradely assistance. The economic cooperation is characterized by a high dynamism, the volume of goods exchange is going to be increased by 70 percent in the current 5-Year Plan period, compared to the previous one. The exchange of experience in party and state matters, between mass and civic organizations in various fields of the socialist construction are expanding.

Likewise, Romania and the Soviet Union cooperate in the international field in the struggle for detente, disarmament, security, and peace in Europe and the world over.

On the glorious GOSR anniversary, the Romanian people extend to the peoples in the Soviet Union warmest greetings and wishes for new successes in fulfilling the great program set forth by the 27th CPSU congress for the country's accelerated progress toward communism and also express the conviction that the traditional relations of Romanian-Soviet friendship and cooperation will continuously develop for the mutual benefit and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, progress, and peace throughout the world.

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CSO: 2020/30

ELECTION OF DEPUTIES TO GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU260952

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 18 November carries on page 3 a 300-word report entitled: "Communique of the Central Electoral Commission Regarding the Election of Two Deputies to the Grand National Assembly."

It is reported that "partial elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly took place 16 November 1986 in constituency No 1 of Brasov's inner city and No 4 of Constanta's North-West area."

"Comrade Manole Sechi, general director of the Brasov Industrial Central of Transportation Vehicles, was elected deputy to the Grand National Assembly" in Brasov's constituency No 1 and "Comrade Elena Vladuc, director of the Constanta Wool Enterprise, was elected deputy to the Grand National Assembly" in Constanta's Constituency No 4.

No further processing planned.

/12913

CSO: 2020/30

PRESS MARKS 13TH RCP CONGRESS ANNIVERSARY

AU291004

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 19 November carries on pages 1 and 5 a 1,700-word editorial entitled: "Revolutionary Spirit--a Great Force in Our Socialist Construction" marking the second anniversary of the 13th RCP Congress "which was characterized by a revolutionary qualitative leap," outlined "the strategy of Romania's development," and stressed the need for a "new quality in the work and life of the whole nation." It also carries on page 6 a 1,600-word article by Romulus Caplescu entitled: "Peace and Disarmament--Basic Options of Socialist Romania" which is also devoted to the second anniversary of the 13th RCP Congress, "an event of exceptional importance," which "once again stressed the dialectical unity between our party's and state's domestic policy and international activity and between the process of building the new system on our homeland's soil and the efforts aimed at ensuring conditions of peace and quietude which are indispensable for achieving our future goals and for the peaceful development of the whole of mankind."

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 19 November carries on pages 1 and 3 a 1,500-word article by Petru Ignat entitled: "Closely United With the Party and Its Secretary General We Are Building the Golden Future of Our Homeland" devoted to the second anniversary of the 13th RCP Congress, whose aim it is to "guide our people toward new and increasingly higher levels of socialist and communist construction." It also carries on page 3 a group of articles--ranging from 300-700 words--by Anton Uncu under the common headline: "The Decisions of the 13th RCP Congress--A Comprehensive Program for Revolutionary Action." The subheads of the articles are as follows: "Romania in the Stage of an Intensive Development," "The Decisive Promotion of Scientific-Technical Achievements," "Under the Sign of the New Agrarian Revolution," "The Broad Assertion of the New Economic-Financial Mechanism," and "The Constant Improvement in the Quality of Life."

/12913

CSO: 2020/30

ROMANIAN PRESS MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF 'UNITARY NATIONAL STATE'

AU021531

Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian between 28 November and 1 December have given extensive coverage to the 68th anniversary of the unification of Transylvania with Romania on 1 December 1918, the year of the foundation of the "Unitary National Romanian State."

University lecturer Dr Vasile Bogza, in a 1,500-word article "Event of Crucial Importance in the History of Our People" published on pages 1, 3 of SCINTEIA on 28 November, calls the unification of Transylvania with Romania "The Fulfillment of our People's Milleniaold Natural Aspiration."

SCINTEIA on 30 November carries on its entire page 3, a 5,000-word debate edited by Silviu Achim, headlined "The Union, a Historical Achievement of our People" on a 6-volume collection of 922 documents about the unification entitled "1918 for the Romanians; Confessions," published this year by the Scientific and Encyclopedical Publishing House "Under the Aegis of the General Directorate of the State Archives." The debate, with the participation of various university professors and lecturers, is published under several subheads such as: "One Single Goal Before Our Eyes," "For Freedom, Brothers," "The Sacred Right of a Nation to Decide its Own Destinies," and "A Nation Proud of its Past and Confident in its Future."

ROMANIA LIBERA on 1 December, devotes its entire page 3 to three articles, totalling about 4,500-words, by Dr Al Porteanu and Ion Pavelescu, on the anniversary of the unification of Transylvania with Romania. The articles describe various historical events that proceeded the "Great National Rally" in Alba Iulia, on 1 December 1918, and also include quotes from the "Resolution" adopted that day and from press commentaries of that time, according to which the unification was a result of the wish of people "Speaking the Same Language in all the Provinces of the Homeland." Who voiced their desire to create "A Dacia as it Used to be." The paper carries a picture of Nicolae Ceausescu and several reproductions of old photographs showing images "From the Great National Rally in Alba Iulia, Where a Decision, Which is Inscribed Forever in our History was Received with Indescribable Enthusiasm by the More Than 100,000 Participants in the Rally and By All Our Nation."

No further processing planned.

/12913

CSO: 2020/30

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO PDRY PRESIDENT--To Comrade Haydar Abu Nakr al-'Attas, president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen, Aden. Your reelection as president of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council of the PDRY affords me the opportunity to extend warm congratulations and best wishes for complete success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission entrusted to you by the Yemeni people. I want to express the conviction that the further development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the PDRY is in keeping with the interests of our peoples and the cause of peace and international understanding. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. [President Nicolae Ceausescu message to People's Democratic Republic of Yemen President Haydar Abu Bakr al-'Attas on his reelection to this office] [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Nov 86 p 5 AU] /12913

ANCUTA RECEIVES SPORTS MINISTER--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28 November 86--28 November Dimitrie Ancuta, Romanian deputy prime minister, received Li Menghua, minister in charge of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission of the People's Republic of China, now visiting Romania. During the interview aspects of the collaboration between Romania and People's China were discussed, in sports included. [sentence as received] [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1005 GMT 28 Nov 86 AU] /12913

CEAUSESCU SALUTE TO AKEL LEADER--Bucharest AGERPRES, 29 November 86--Ezekias Papaioannou, general secretary of the Progressive Party of Working People--AKEL--of Cyprus, received Mihai Gere, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, representative of RCP to the 16th Congress of AKEL. On the occasion, Ezekias Papaioannou was conveyed a warm salute and best wishes from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, and was handed over a congratulatory message on the 60th anniversary of the Communist Party of Cyprus--AKEL. The AKEL General Secretary conveyed in turn to Nicolae Ceausescu thanks for the message, a warm salute and fresh successes in the activity deployed at the head of the RCP and Romanian state. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1141 GMT 29 Nov 86 AU] /12913

DASCALESCU CABLES PDRY COUNTERPART--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, has sent a cable to Yasin Sa'id Nu'man, prime minister of the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, on his reelection to this position, whereby he extends warm congratulations and best wishes for good health and personal happiness, as

well as wishes for complete success in the latter's activity. [Text]
[Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Nov 86 p 5 AU] /12913

GRUIA MEETS LIBERIAN PRESIDENT--Monrovia, AGERPRES, 24 November 86--Messages of salute were exchanged between Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and the president of the Republic of Liberia, Samuel Kanyon Doe, when the latter received a Romanian economic delegation led by Florea Gruia, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Agriculture. The Liberian head of state expressed the determination of his country's government to promptly apply the provisions of the documents signed during the recent visit to Bucharest, of all the understandings reached on that occasion. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1806 GMT 24 Nov 86 AU] /12913

MERCHANT NAVY DEVELOPMENT--Bucharest AGERPRES 18 November 86--Since 1960 when the first 4,500 dwt cargo was being built at the shipyard of Galati (in eastern Romania), 214 ships of various tonnages have been made, as well as the first Romanian offshore drilling rigs for a total of two million dwt. Cargo boats of 15,000 dwt, ore carriers of 55,000 dwt were built there, as well as tankers of 35,000 dwt the first in its series having been completed not long ago. Adding to them were many other river and seagoing ships for the Romanian merchant navy and for foreign customers. A new series of 15,000 dwt general goods carriers has been launched to production, with the first being technologically tested. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1146 GMT 18 Nov 86 AU] /12913

KIM IL-SONG THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general I convey to you, and through you to the Romanian Communists and the Romanian people, deep gratitude for the warm greetings and best wishes you extended to me on behalf of the Romanian Communists and on your own behalf on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the founding of the Workers Party of Korea. We are very pleased that the tradition relations of friendship and cooperation between our people and countries are developing and increasing in many fields, in the spirit of the understandings reached during our recent meeting and talks. I take this opportunity to convey to you most sincere wishes for ever greater successes in the activity of high responsibility you carry out and in the struggle waged by your party and country to implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress in building the comprehensively developed society. Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea. [Message of thanks from Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, to RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu for greetings on the Korean party anniversary] [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 86 p 5 AU] /12913

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FINLAND--By presidential decree, Comrade Cornelia Teodorescu has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to Finland, replacing Comrade Maria Stanescu, who has been recalled. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Oct 86 p 3 AU] /12913

NEW AMBASSADOR TO JORDAN--By presidential decree, Comrade Teodor Coman has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to Jordan, replacing Comrade Andrei Cervencovici, who has been recalled. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Oct 86 p 3 AU] /12913

DEPARTING BRITISH AMBASSADOR--At the end of his mission in our country, Philip McKearn the ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and North Ireland, gave a reception on Wednesday, 22 October. The reception was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of other ministries, and of central institutions, as well as men of arts and culture. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania also attended. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Oct 86 p 6 AU] /12913

NEW AMBASSADOR TO UK--By presidential decree Comrade Stan Soare was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Romania to Great Britain in place of Comrade Vasile Gliga, who was recalled to headquarters. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Oct 86 p 5 AU] /12913

NEW AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE--By presidential decree, Comrade Petre Gigea has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to France to replace Comrade Gheorghe Tache, who has been recalled. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Nov 86 p 5 AU] /12913

CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH PRC--Bucharest AGERPRES 29 October 86--A program of enforcement of the accord on cultural collaboration between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the People's Republic of China in 1986-1990 was signed in Bucharest on 29 October. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1715 GMT 29 Oct 86 AU] /12913

SOVIET AMBASSADOR MEETS PRESS--Bucharest AGERPRES 6 November 86--On the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, J.M. Tyazhelnikov, arranged a news conference on Thursday, 6 November. The Soviet ambassador highlighted the significance of the event, which marked the beginning of an irreversible process, the assertion and ever more powerful development of the socialist and communist society, the creation of new-type international relations. He [word indistinct] at length on the Soviet peoples' successes in implementing the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. The speaker also outlined the major lines of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Referring to the traditional ties of friendship and collaboration between the two peoples, parties and countries, the Soviet ambassador underscored the decisive role played by summit meetings, talks and understandings in deepening and diversifying bilateral cooperation, to mutual benefit, in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism. On the occasion, a news conference was held at the Consulate General of the USSR in Constanta. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1956 GMT 6 Nov 86 AU] /12913

SOVIET BOOK EXHIBITION OPENS--A Soviet Book Decade exhibition opened at the Dacia bookstore in Bucharest to mark the 69th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Among books on display are works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism as well as political, scientific, and literary books. Members of the Council of Socialist Culture and Education, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Union of Writers, as well as a large number of people were present at the inauguration of this exhibition. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Nov 1986 p 5 AU] /12913

IRON GATES POWER PRODUCTION--Bucharest AGERPRES 10 November 86--This year, the workers at the "Iron Gates I" hydroelectric plant have turned out 780 million kwh electric power above plan provisions. It is the largest amount of additional electric power turned out since that major power engineering plant was commissioned in 1971. [Excerpt] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1207 GMT 10 Nov 86 AU] /12913

CHNOUPEK ARRIVES 26 NOVEMBER--Bucharest AGERPRES 27 November 86--Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, arrived in Bucharest on Wednesday evening for an official visit of friendship to Romania at the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The guest was welcomed by Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu, and by other officials. Czechoslovak ambassador to Bucharest Jan Papp was present. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0704 GMT 27 Nov 86 AU] /12913

RECEPTION ON SOLIDARITY DAY--Bucharest AGERPRES 2 December 86--On the day of international solidarity with the Palestinian people, the permanent representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the ambassadors of some Arab countries in Bucharest, gave a reception on 2 December. The guests included representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, central institutions and public organizations, members of the Romanian League for Friendship with the Peoples in Asia and Africa and of the Romanian Institute for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, journalists. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania and other members of the diplomatic corps attended. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 2 Dec 86 AU] /12913

PACOSTE RECEIVES TRADE MINISTER--Bucharest AGERPRES 2 December 86--Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Pacoste received, on 2 December, visiting Indonesian minister of trade Rakhmat Saleh. The interview covered the broadening and diversification of mutual trade and economic cooperation in areas of common interest, in agreement with the Romanian-Indonesian summit understandings. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1250 GMT 2 Dec 86 AU] /12913

GREEK PARTY DELEGATION WELCOMED--Bucharest, AGERPRES 26 November 86--Konstandinos Mitsotakis, chairman of the new Democracy Party of Greece, arrived in Bucharest on 26 November in the morning, for a visit to Romania at head of a delegation of his party, as guests of the CC of the RCP. The guests were welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Emil Bobu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Marin Ivascu, deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by party activists. Dhimitrios M. Zervos, Bucharest ambassador of the Hellenic Republic, was present. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1011 GMT 26 Nov 86 AU] /12913

CEAUSESCU MEETS CHAIRMAN--Bucharest AGERPRES 2 December 86--On 2 December President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received Morris Abram, chairman of the conference of chairmen of the leading Jewish organizations in the U.S., now on a Romanian visit. The guest thanked vividly for the call and the chance given to him to visit Romania. At the same time

Morris Abram appreciated highly Romania's preoccupation to expand its collaboration with all the states, irrespective of their social system, as well as the demarches, actions and initiatives President Nicolae Ceausescu devotes to disarmament, peace, detente and international understanding. During the interview the sides approached questions related to the development of the Romanian-American relations as well as certain aspects of the current international life. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 2 Dec 86 AU] /12913

CABLE OF THANKS FROM SHAMIR--Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, has received a cable from Yitzhak Shamir, prime minister of Israel, in which he expressed thanks for congratulations extended to him on his appointment to this position. The cable expresses the hope that relations between the two countries will develop constantly. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTRIA in Romanian 22 Nov 86 p 5 AU] /12913

COMAN, OPREA ATTEND RECEPTION--Bucharest AGERPRES, 28 November 86--On the National Day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that country's ambassador in Bucharest, Boro Denkov, gave a reception on Friday. Attending were Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Gheorghe Oprea, member of the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee, Romanian first deputy premier, ministers, executives of ministries and central institutions, mass and public organizations, scientists, men of letters and artists, generals and officers, journalists. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest and members of the diplomatic corps were also present. On the same occasion, the counsel general of the SFRY in Timisoara gave a cocktail party. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1934 GMT 28 Nov 86 AU] /12913

ANGOLAN DELEGATION VISITS--Bucharest AGERPRES 27 November 86--A delegation of the MPLA-Workers' Party of Angola, led by Doukui de Castro, alternate member of the CC of the MPLA-Workers' Party, head of that party's Foreign Relations Department, paid a visit to Romania 20-27 November, upon the invitation of the CC of the RCP. The delegation had talks at the headquarters of the Bucharest Municipality and Brasov County party organizations and visited economic and sociocultural units. At the end of their visit, the delegation had an interview at the CC of the RCP headquarters with Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. On the occasion, they signed a protocol on collaboration between the RCP and the MPLA-Workers' Party. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 27 Nov 86 AU] /12913

CSO: 2020/30

MARKETING OF SERBIAN NATIONALIST SYMBOLS DESCRIBED

Belgrade NOVE OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by M. Brkic: "Karadjordje for a Trifle"]

[Text] Nationalisms are being talked about. They are swelling, they are aggressive, they are disrupting our brotherhood and unity, they.... In Croatia, for example, when Croatian nationalism is criticized, the point is made that the odor of Serbian nationalism is also perceptible in the field. In Kosovo province, local officials say, although Serbs and Montenegrins are emigrating at an unreduced pace, "Serbian nationalism is sprouting as well."

Is what follows a manifestation of the same?

Serbia's inhabitants are purchasing these things more and more often: icons of Orthodox saints, statues of Serbian military commanders, books about Serbian wars--Balkan wars, World War I, other uprisings and military campaigns.

In the folk crafts shop on Prince Michael Street in Belgrade, next to the Albania building, the manager tells us that icons of the Virgin Mary were selling well last week. They cost approximately 2,000 dinars. They sell every day. Of the saints, Saint Nicholas is most in demand. The shop has received a series of statues of Serbian military commanders, and copper engravings of Karadjordje sell well.

The shop manager has no complaints. The shop does a good business every day. In addition to cups, earrings, and such like, people also ask for miniature Serbian peasant shoes as decorative souvenirs.

We ask a 30-year-old man buying a copper engraving of Karadjordje why he wants the image of the leader of the first Serbian rising.

"When I see his dejected face," answers Mirko Jirisic, a worker at the Rad construction firm, "and when I remember all he did to defend Serbdom against the Janissaries, then I like being a Serb, I am proud of being a Serb."

An elderly woman, let us say a lady, is buying an icon of Saint Nicholas. "That is my patron saint," she says. "I should have this icon in my house when I already have pictures of some less holy persons."

The tailor that sews caps in his shop on Balkan Street boasts that people come to him and beg for Serbian traditional military caps. When he asks them why they are buying precisely such caps, people are cautious and justify themselves on the grounds that such caps are good for winter weather and protect the ears from cold, wind, and iciness.

The Orthodox clergy's cooperative has a shop on Revolution Boulevard, selling religious publications (which are in great demand), candles (even higher sales), and books: from Dorbica Cosic and his "Gresnik" (Sinner) to the book on Kosovo by the late Dimitrije Bogdanovic. The books sold in this shop have the common theme of Serbia, its history, its people.

The best sellers in Belgrade bookshops are "Srpske vojvode" (Serbian Military Commanders), "Solunci govore" (Salonica Front Veterans Speak), and "Knjiga o Milutinu" (Milutin's Book). Petar Opacie, Savo Skoko, and other historians who write about Serbian history are the most-read authors, aside from Cosic and Danko Popovic [author of "Knjiga o Milutinu"].

The church dedicated to Saint Sava is rising in the Vracar area on its scattered foundations. Hard-working craftsmen are erecting a huge building. Clergymen are satisfied, there are more and more contributors.

In Belgrade, nonetheless, a citizen wearing a Serbian traditional military cap is nowhere to be seen.

In the last analysis, not even the undersigned would dare to put such a cap on his head and stroll the streets of the capital, although he is 100-percent non-nationalist, has been in love with a Moslem girl, and once sang "Roko mandoljino."

Where are we headed? Into our past? Doesn't the future interest us?

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CSO: 2800/69

PAPER REPORTS ON INCREASE IN NUMBER OF BURGLARIES

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by CTK: "Strict Penalties Are Not Enough"]

[Text] According to information of the CSR Ministry of the Interior, losses caused by burglaries in 1981-1985 were up 37 percent. In the CSR, for example, such losses amounted to almost Kcs 43 million last year alone.

Experience has shown that burglaries are a persistent problem, especially in major cities and most of all in Prague. The perpetrators focus mainly on apartments in housing developments or on suburban residential houses. They break into apartments primarily in the morning or on weekends when most residents are absent.

Such crimes are motivated largely by various forms of parasitism, egotism, greed, and acquired "values" of consumerism and prestige. Burglaries are facilitated most often by insufficient and inadequate public information about the danger posed to citizens by perpetrators of crimes against property. Furthermore, in major cities burglars profit from the anonymity and frequently also the passive attitude of citizens and their lack of interest in what is happening in their immediate surroundings. In addition, property, especially privately-owned property, continues to be inadequately protected and guarded.

Our citizens should make better use of various protective devices available in stores, such as, for example, the FAB 20 security door bar with a safety plate. Also, safety lockers are not in frequent use.

Measures taken by criminal prosecution play an important, thus far irreplaceable, role when fighting crime against property. In general, burglars receive stiffer sentences; the share of prison sentences without probation in this group is 70 percent, while that of perpetrators of other crimes against property is about 50 percent. However, neither the penalties nor stiffer sentences are sufficient.

Representatives of the CSR ministries of the interior and of justice, of the CSR Supreme Court, and of the Office of the CSR General Prosecutor reported Monday about the causes, conditions and especially penalties to which perpetrators of such criminal acts are subjected.

EXCESSIVE EARNINGS OF ARTISTS DENIED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Nov 86 p 5

[Article by Otakar Nadhera: "How Much Are You Making, Boss?"]

[Text] In all probability each of us has heard some "trustworthy" information about this or that artist's fabulous profits, usually with some added juicy tidbit about his living high on the hog--in other words, how this or that popular actor, singer, famous writer, painter or musician is simply "making a mint." There are some individuals who are more interested in such things than in the artist's work and creation itself. Surprisingly it is the contemporary artistic output that itself is fostering such attitudes because it often presents, perhaps in an unwholesome way, decadent literati, pitiful dabblers and other creatures and petty characters of the art world who may be facing a creative and social crisis, but that is shown against the indispensable backdrop of lots of free time, mansions, automobiles, expensive liquor and mistresses younger by a generation. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the overwhelming majority of our writers are holding regular, often very demanding jobs as physicians, miners, editors, factory workers or engineers, and that in their case their writing actually means for them a second shift, late-night work, strain and sacrifice. The total income of our prominent actors and singers consists of compensation for their work for several institutions--theater, television, film, radio, teaching. In all instances the payment of such rewards is based on accurate documentation and follows regulations in force which are part of our legal system and thus accessible to every interested person. Their television appearances are timed with a stopwatch. Their literary products are converted to author's galleys containing exactly 36,000 typewriter strokes or 600 verses; that suggests that in comparison with other areas the norm-setting work in culture is not too poorly honored. It is often forgotten that in the course of a year or even over longer periods artists' earnings are usually irregular. Moreover, artists' incomes depend on the use of their works and on their appearances abroad, but even there they are subject to similar conditions as, let us say, assembly workers and sailors, or royalties for foreign licenses of inventions. Many individuals would not disclose even to their wives how much they earn, and furthermore, our artists are not obligated to make a public confession about their income. Therefore, we may conclude that the compensation paid to our artists corresponds with the regulations on rewards, conditions for appearances, necessary arrangements of certain events, purchase and sales of artworks, art commissions, etc.--in other words, in most cases on the amount, value and social significance of their work.

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